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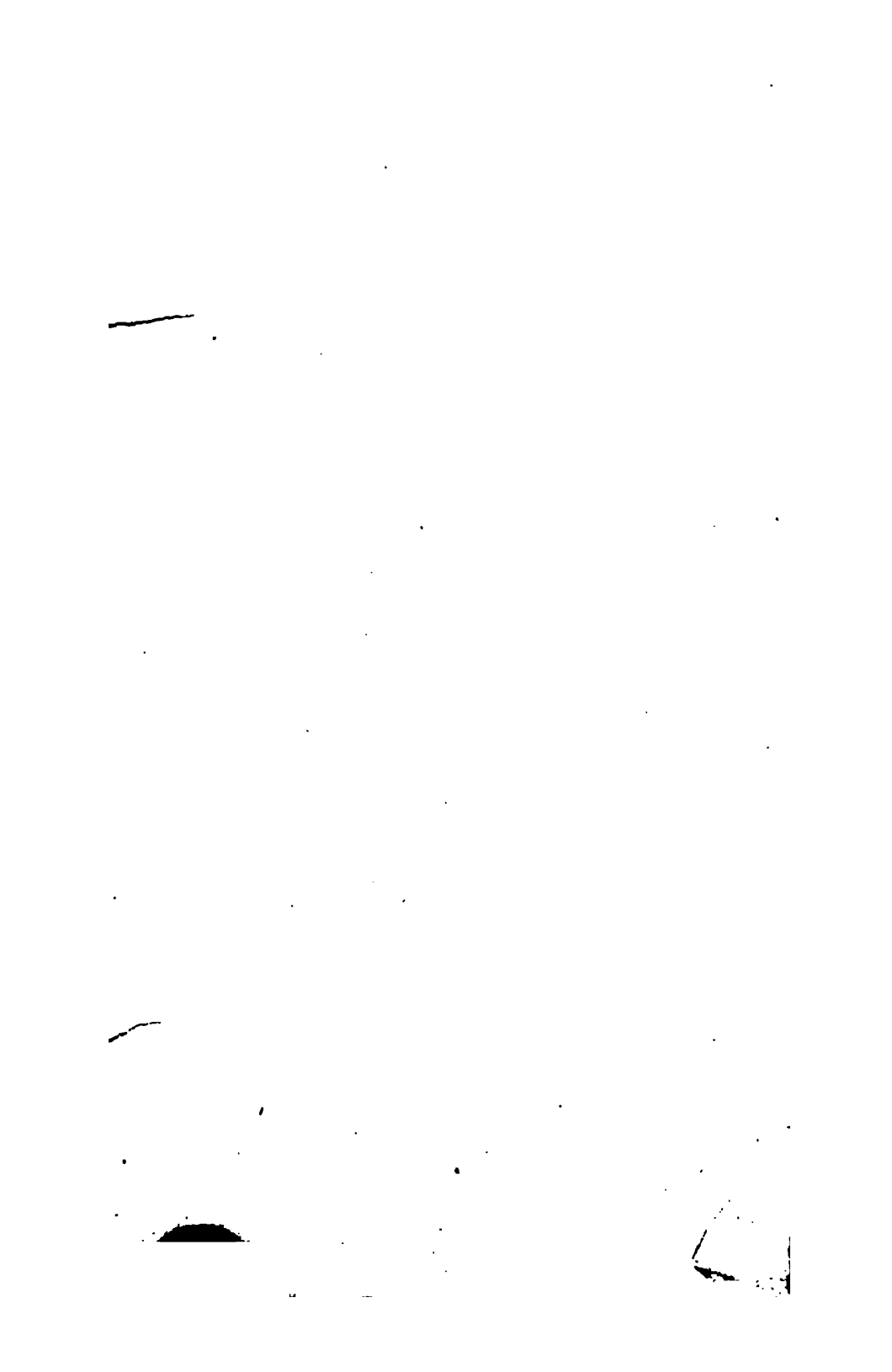






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A
L E T T E R
TO
HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS
THE
DUKE OF GLOUCESTER,
PRESIDENT OF THE AFRICAN INSTITUTION,
FROM
ZACHARY MACAULAY, ESQ.

OCCASIONED BY A
PAMPHLET LATELY PUBLISHED
BY DR. THORPE,
LATE JUDGE OF THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE,
ENTITLED
"A LETTER TO WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, ESQ." &c. &c.

SECOND EDITION, ENLARGED.

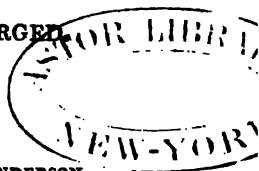
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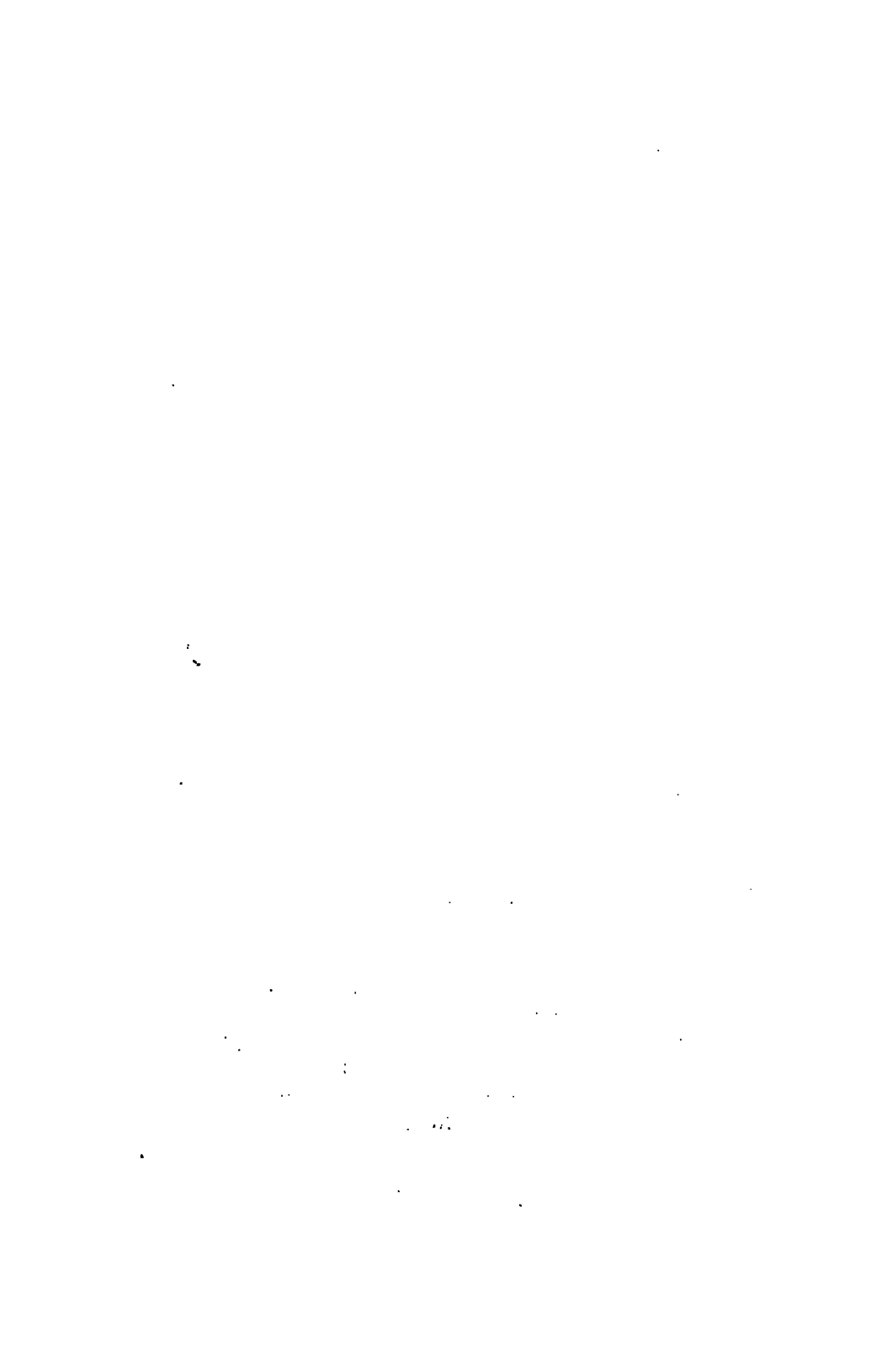
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1815.



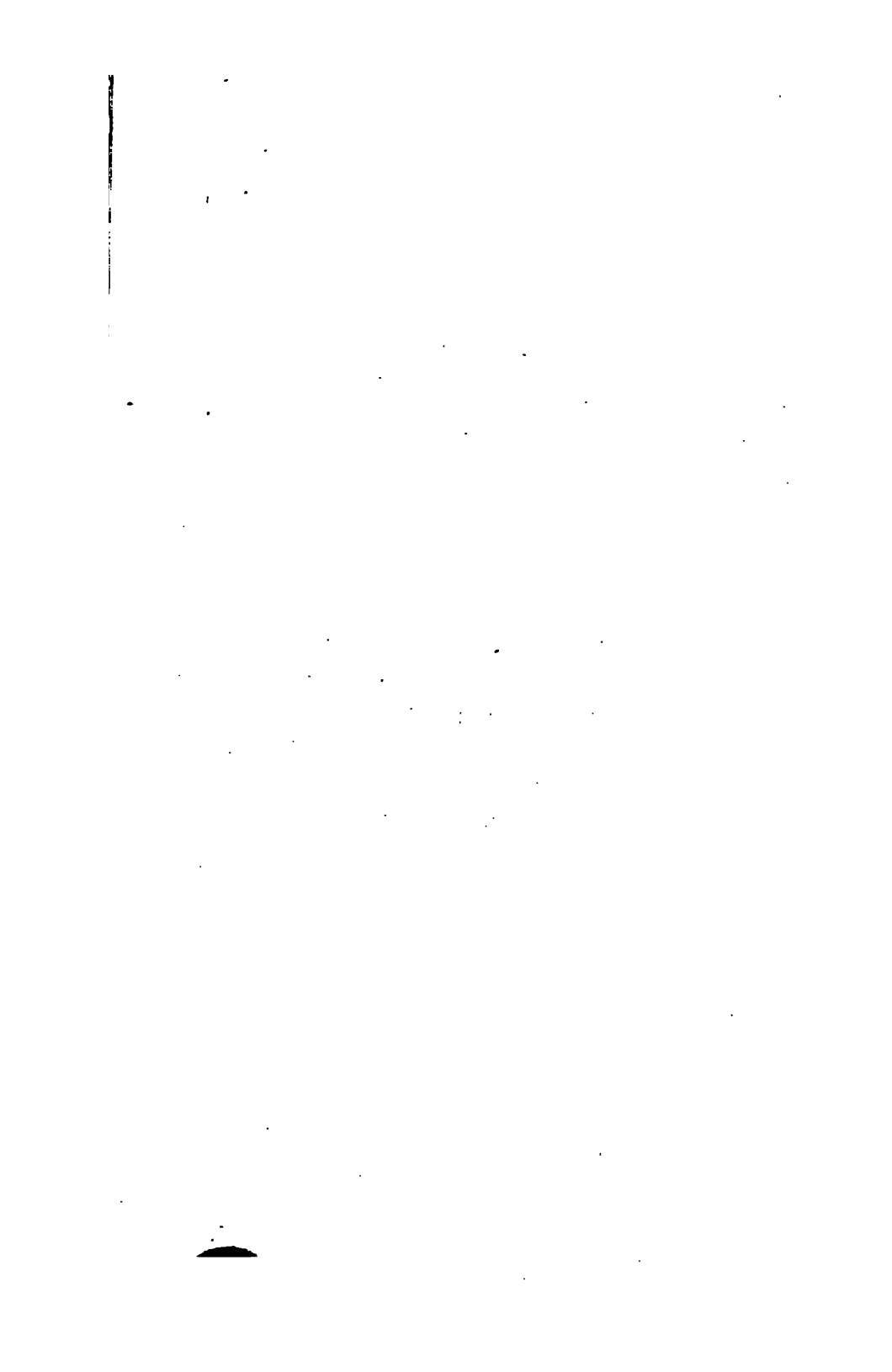


ADVERTISEMENT.

THE difference between the present Edition and the former consists chiefly in the correction of some typographical errors ; and in the addition of a few passages, which, it is hoped, may render the general argument more conclusive. A Postscript, containing some new matter, has also been subjoined.

The Author is desirous it should be understood, that if he has confined his observations to that part of Dr. Thorpe's pamphlet which respects himself personally, it proceeds merely from this, that a full and satisfactory reply has been prepared by the Directors of the African Institution, to the various other misrepresentations with which that pamphlet abounds.

Clapham,
April 19th, 1815.



LETTER,

&c. &c.

SIR,

THE flattering and condescending kindness with which your Royal Highness has been pleased to honour me, has emboldened me to address to your Royal Highness some observations on the attack which has been made on my character in a pamphlet lately published by Dr. Thorpe. As this attack has a reference chiefly to my conduct while I held the situation of Secretary of the African Institution, there seemed to me a propriety in addressing my vindication to its illustrious President.

With your Royal Highness, and the many noble and distinguished characters who conduct the affairs of that Institution, I have had the honour of being associated for upwards of eight years. If the charges which Dr. Thorpe has

thought proper to bring against me should prove to have their foundation in truth, I must be admitted to be utterly unworthy of such an association. I cannot, therefore, but feel solicitous to convince your Royal Highness that those charges are false and calumnious; and to this object my present address will be confined. I leave to other and abler hands the defence of the Sierra Leone Company, the African Institution, and the Officers of the Crown at Sierra Leone.

Some of Dr. Thorpe's allegations he affects to support by extracts from letters of my own. It may be proper to explain in what manner those letters became accessible to him. When Mr. Thompson succeeded Mr. Ludlam in the government of Sierra Leone, the latter gentleman left behind him, in the Government House, the books and papers of the Sierra Leone Company, as well as a great mass of his own private papers, which he intended afterwards to remove. Mr. Thompson, however, when applied to, expressed his determination to retain them all in his hands "as public papers;" although he could have no right to retain any part of them, and although some of them, as will be seen, were evidently *private*. The following is a copy of the Minute of Council which was transmitted to Mr. Ludlam on this occasion.

“ The Governor reported, that he believed it to be of importance that the originals of certain papers, left in the Council Room as public papers, by T. Ludlam, Esq. late Governor of this Colony, consisting of letters from the Chairman and Secretary of the Court of Directors of the Honourable the Sierra Leone Company, and others, to Governor Ludlam, or the acting Governor of this Colony, *and to Thomas Ludlam, Esq.* should be in readiness for production before his Majesty’s Government, and prayed the consent of the Council to take the said papers into his private possession, and to convey them to England for the purpose of being employed as evidence on subjects connected with the administration and general circumstances of this Colony.

“ Resolved, That the Governor be permitted to take into his private possession the originals of the said papers, and to convey them to England for the purpose above mentioned, provided that before he shall give over the administration of this Colony to the officer appointed to hold it, *ad interim*, he shall give to such officer a receipt in writing for the whole of such papers, specifying the nature and date of each paper.

“ (Signed) GEO. RICKARDS, Sec.”

Thus a great part, if not the whole, of my confidential communications for many years, with a friend to whom I opened myself on all subjects without reserve, came into the hands of persons who have shewn that they were disposed to the utmost of their power to use them to my prejudice.

What particular parts of my correspondence with Mr. Ludlam were thus submitted to the eye of Mr. Thompson, and, through him, to that of Dr. Thorpe, I have had no means of knowing, Mr. Ludlam having died soon after on the coast of Africa, except from the specimens which Dr. Thorpe has given to the public. If, however, as I strongly suspect, there were found among them letters in which I had communicated to Mr. Ludlam my view of the characters of those gentlemen, it will be less difficult to account for the hostility which both have shewn me. In a private and confidential letter of mine to Mr. Ludlam, dated 12th March, 1808, and which I doubt not was comprehended in the above sweeping resolution, were some remarks respecting Mr. Thompson, which it is unnecessary to repeat. These were followed by a paragraph, in which Mr. Thorpe's appointment is notified. "Of Thorpe," I observe, "who is likely to go out as Judge, I have still less knowledge than of Thompson. His appointment rests wholly

with the Secretary of State, and he is a stranger to all of us. He quarrelled with the Governor of Upper Canada; and though he *might* be right, and the Governor wrong, yet he did not shew much moderation in his conduct on the occasion. This is suspicious." Again: "I should fear he might prove a little hot-headed. He professes to be friendly to our objects*, but he is in utter ignorance of the whole subject of Africa. On the whole, I do not feel at ease as to his appointment."

In a subsequent letter, I observed of Dr. Thorpe: "He is, as I believe, a man of some talents; but I fear he is not of the calmest and mildest temper in the world. He caused so much trouble in Upper Canada, where he acted as a Judge, that it was found necessary to remove him from his situation. There is some danger, therefore, of his proving perverse or wrong-headed."

Whether these letters, or others which I may have written in the same strain and of which I have retained no copies, were

* A candid interpreter would have inferred from this passage alone, that the objects of my friends and myself were those which we professed — the civilization and improvement of Africa—not those of our illicit and personal emolument. To these last had Dr. Thorpe professed himself friendly?

among those of which Mr. Thompson took possession, and were communicated by him, on his return to England, as interesting documents, to his friend Dr. Thorpe, I can only conjecture. But if they were, then I the less wonder at the tone of bitterness in which Dr. Thorpe has uniformly mentioned my name, and at his eagerness to impute to me, however improbably, the basest and most flagitious motives for all I have done, or attempted to do, for Africa. Whether, also, my refusal to comply with the earnest application of Dr. Thorpe, for the loan of a sum of money, has had any influence on his feelings towards me, is, of course, best known to himself. His charges are such as the supposition of personal ill-will can alone account for; and for that ill-will I know not how I can otherwise have given occasion than in the way I have mentioned. It seemed to be necessary to mention these circumstances, as furnishing to Dr. Thorpe a motive for accusations which may have obtained credit from the apparent improbability of his making them if they had not been well founded.

Still, however, had it pleased Dr. Thorpe to quote my sentiments fairly, as they appear in the letters to which he had access, it would have been impossible for him, even for a single moment, to have excited a doubt in the mind

of the most uninformed reader as to my real views and intentions. He produces, for example, at p. 47 of his pamphlet, an extract from one of my letters, as proof that I had formed a settled purpose of establishing *slavery* at Sierra Leone. It is only necessary to give the context, in order to obviate such an imputation.

That letter was written in reply to one from Mr. Ludlam, in which he expressed his regret that I should have made up my mind against the expediency of any general plan for redeeming Africans from slavery, with a view to their being placed under British protection in Sierra Leone, and there enjoying the means of civilization and improvement. The whole of the letter, which has any reference to the subject, is as follows :

“ London, 1st May, 1807.

“ My dear Sir,

“ Your letters by the Goshawk arrived yesterday. A vessel of the Andersons', which is about to sail from Portsmouth, gives me the opportunity of replying to them. The vessel is the Polly.

“ 2. To the duplicates of my letters by the Ann, now, I trust, half way at least on her voyage to Sierra Leone, I refer you for information of what passed previous to the 13th of April in this country, which had any relation to the

Colony. I will proceed with the accounts from that time.

“ 3. The Sierra Leone Transfer Bill had made its unresisted progress through its different stages in the House of Commons, and had been read a second time in the House of Lords, and would, without doubt, have passed without any opposition, when most unexpectedly, on the 27th of April, a prorogation of Parliament took place, which has since issued in its dissolution. This occasions a most unfortunate and unlooked-for suspension of the transfer. Parliament, however, assembles again on the 22d June, when not a day shall be lost in reviving the Bill, and carrying it through all its stages. No foresight could have anticipated the causes of delay which have arisen in this measure.

“ 4. In the newspaper of the 17th April, you will see a detailed account of the formation of the African Institution. The dissolution of Parliament has necessarily drawn Mr. Wilberforce, and many of the most respectable supporters of the Institution, from London, and will therefore occasion a postponement of the meeting appointed for the 12th inst. to a distant day. In the mean time, we are proceeding in arranging our plans, and framing our regulations. No doubt can be entertained of our receiving most extensive patronage and sup-

port. The Duke of Gloucester, and many distinguished Noblemen, have taken up the subject of African Civilization with great zeal, and seem determined to devote, not merely their money, and the influence of their names, but their time and thoughts to the promotion of it.

" 5: I will now proceed to notice your last letters.

" There cannot be the slightest doubt, that all those who had promises of land from the Company, previous to the transfer being effected, must be considered as comprized in the general agreement entered into by Government to confirm all the rights of property already acquired in the Colony. If grants were actually made out for all lands promised to the settlers, it would doubtless be a means of obviating future difficulties and disputes *. Yet if this be not practicable, a clear and intelligible minute on the subject, recording the nature and extent of the promises which have been made, would, as I conceive, completely save the rights of the individuals to whom it may prove impossible to give formal grants. I shall not fail

* Here again I might appeal to my private letter to my friend the Governor of Sierra Leone, as indicating dispositions directly opposite to those which have been imputed to us by Dr. Thorpe, concerning the granting, to the settlers, of the lands to which they were entitled.

to keep this business fully in my mind, when the business of the transfer is resumed.

“ 6. You somewhat misconceive our ideas in this country on the subject of African slavery. While the Slave Trade lasted, I certainly felt very averse to the giving any direct encouragement to the purchasing Slaves with a view to the benefit of their labour for a certain given period ; but I always looked forward to the event of the Abolition, as removing many objections to that system. *Indeed, I have always been of the opinion, that, the Slave Trade being abolished, the most likely means of promoting civilization in that country would be by indenting the natives for a time, not exceeding seven years, or till they attained the age of twenty-one, under regulations which should be well defined and rigidly enforced.*”

Of the above letter, the first eight lines and a half alone of the last paragraph are quoted by Dr. Thorpe. Had it been intended to represent my sentiments fairly, the last half of that paragraph (printed in Italics) would also have appeared. But then the latter half would have completely done away the meaning imputed to me by Dr. Thorpe. It was therefore doubtless omitted : and for the same reason it was necessary that the next letter I addressed to

Mr. Ludlam, on the same subject, should also not be published. It was as follows.

“ London, May 4th, 1808.

“ My Dear Sir,

“ I enclose the first rude outline of a Memoir, which I have been projecting, on a subject which has been often discussed by us. I mean to complete it by filling up the outline, as far as I have gone, and also by adding some considerations relative to the advantages of the plan, and the various objections to which it is liable. I am not willing, however, to allow this opportunity to pass without calling your attention to the subject, however crude and uncooked my ideas on it may prove to be. I mean to submit it, when finished, to the Directors of the African Institution, who will be very anxious to have your sentiments upon it. You and Mr. Dawes will of course consider how far it will be proper to propose any such plan in your Report to Government, or at all to advert to it. It obviously would be advisable, if the plan were proposed, that it should be proposed with all its guards and limitations, so as to prevent its partial adoption—the adoption, I mean, of the general proposition as to ransoming Slaves, without those regulations which would ensure its beneficial tendency with respect to the Africans; whose benefit, I confess, I am disposed

to make the *main*, I had almost said the *exclusive*, object."

The Memoir to which this letter refers, and in which my views of the subject are fully and clearly developed, will be found annexed*. It was printed at the time, and several copies of it were sent to Sierra Leone. It was also formally submitted, in June 1808, to your Royal Highness and the Directors of the African Institution, who, after maturely considering it, resolved that it was inexpedient to adopt the measure which it proposed, and which, therefore, fell entirely to the ground.

The question which I undertook to discuss in that paper was certainly very important; and I think, that no unprejudiced person, who reads what I have written upon it, will be disposed to accuse me of a design to carry a favourite measure by omitting to state, in their full force, the objections which might be urged against it. Indeed I must confess, and by referring to the last part of the Memoir this will be seen, that those objections appeared to myself too formidable to be overcome.

But how came such a question as this to be agitated, either at Sierra Leone or in England? The reply to this inquiry may serve, perhaps, as

* Appendix I.

an apology for those who brought the subject under discussion, and will at least acquit them of having been actuated by mercenary motives.

When the benevolent Granville Sharp, (benevolent and sincere in the estimation of Dr. Thorpe himself,) in 1787, collected several hundred of the Black poor in London, and sent them to form a settlement at Sierra Leone, he drew up and published "A short Sketch of temporary Regulations (until better shall be proposed) for the intended Settlement on the Coast of Africa." The copy now before me is the third edition, printed in 1788, by Baldwin, Fleet Street. In that work, of which many copies were sent to Sierra Leone, there is a chapter entitled "Redemption from Slavery." It thus commences:—

"Though it is a fundamental principle of the settlement, that all slaves shall be deemed free as soon as they enter it, so that no person can retain, or sell, or employ, a slave within the bounds of the settlement, yet there can be no impropriety in providing a means of repaying the expense of redeeming slaves, on the condition of a short limited service, as an apprentice or indentured servant, provided that the actual prices given for redemption can be sufficiently authenticated, that no more may be repaid, except, perhaps, a limited profit,

not exceeding ten per cent. by way of interest, for advancing the price; and provided also that the said limited service of the contract be not claimable by any individual, but by the public Exchequer only, after the redeemed person has consented to work out the price; whereby all possibility of domestic slavery, or private oppression, will be excluded; and the Exchequer will give an ample equivalent to the redeemed person, to insure his voluntary consent to a contract for a limited time of labour, not only by the protection it will afford him, but also by putting him in possession of a portion of land, equal to the quarter part of a deciner's lot, to be increased as he discharges his debt of labour; and by finding him provisions until he shall be able to raise provisions from his own land."

Mr. Sharp then proceeds to make the following calculation on the subject:—

"Suppose the redemption of a man should cost ten pounds, (which I believe is about the average price on the coast), and suppose the labour of such a stranger be estimated only at sixpence sterling per day, though it is certainly worth much more, (perhaps three or four times as much), a limited service, by the redeemed person, of five years to the public Exchequer, as an equivalent for the purchase of a full lot of

protected land, with a gradual introduction to all the privileges of a free English settlement, will amount, at 310 working days per annum (fifty-two Sundays and three holidays being deducted for the reasons already mentioned under the head of *Free Labour*), will amount, I say, to 38l. 15s.; out of which, after paying 10l. the price of redemption, and 10 per cent. for the advance of money, viz. 1l. more, there will remain in the public Exchequer (towards supplying food and necessaries to the labourer, till he can provide for himself, and for risk of loss by sickness or death) the sum of 27l. 15s. the surplus of which, if the redeemed person lives and does well, becomes the property of the public, in which he himself enjoys an equal share of profit; so that the purchase of a slave, under so equitable a regulation, will be really and truly a redemption from slavery to a state of freedom and protection."

He adds the following regulations with respect to the persons who might thus contract to give their service for a limited time; and of these it will be seen that I freely availed myself.

"The service even of indentured servants shall be strictly limited, viz. no person to be bound for a longer term than five years after the age of twenty-one, or of seven years if bound after the age of fourteen years, or of ten

years if bound after the age of eleven years. And if any indentured servant shall have just cause to complain of his master's behaviour to him, he shall be turned over to the care of the general asylum for males; and his labour, for the limited term of his indentures, shall be turned over to the public Exchequer, which shall purchase of the master all the remaining term of service."

"Every apprentice, or indentured male, above the age of sixteen years, that shall afterwards be introduced into the settlement from Europe, and every male bred in the settlement, as they arrive at that age, shall be allowed by the public as many acres of land to himself, adjoining to the out lot of his parent or of his master, as will amount to an eighth part of a lot, in order that he may employ his leisure hours to his own profit."

"With respect to an indentured servant or apprentice, if he shall be able, even before he is of age, to purchase out his indentures, either by the produce of his private portion of land, or by entering himself at the town bank, for such a proportion of his extra hours, or evening's labour, as shall be deemed equal to his strength, without injury to the labour due to his master, but not exceeding two hours (making ten hours labour in all per day), the

master, must consent to the redemption, and the late indentured person, even though he is not of age, shall be allowed to purchase one quarter of a lot in whatever township he shall choose, for one year's service (viz. 310 days' labour paid by instalments as above) to the Exchequer of the township."

"Masters of apprentices, and also of indentured strangers, brought by them into the settlement, shall be obliged to register the said indentured persons in the public Exchequer of the township where he lives, together with the terms of their indentures, on the penalty of 310 days' labour for every wilful failure hereinafter, and he shall be obliged to deduct from the limited time of indentured service, all the time that the apprentices or servants have worked for the public benefit."

Your Royal Highness will perceive, that this excellent man proposed his plan of redemption without any doubt respecting the beneficial consequences which it was likely to produce; and that he even made it an original law of his settlement. Had it not been for the single objection which, in the annexed Memoir, I have stated the fourth in my list of objections, I should have concurred with Mr. Sharp. But that objection had always appeared to me so insuperable, that, while the British Slave Trade

was continued, I strenuously resisted the adoption of the plan, even though it had been sanctioned by the venerated authority of Mr. Sharp. When the Slave Trade was at length abolished, I thought it due to Africa, that the subject should undergo a thorough discussion. It was brought with that view before the Directors, and received with my concurrence a decision in the negative. Had I even had any doubt as to the propriety of this decision, I should willingly have sacrificed it to the concurrent voice of so many wise and benevolent men.

I certainly am not solicitous to exculpate myself from the charge of speculative error on this point. I am willing to give up my judgment to the severest animadversions of Dr. Thorpe. I am only desirous of shewing that I am not fairly chargeable with unfriendly views towards Africa, or with any low and sordid purpose, in having mooted this great question. I will, therefore, quit the subject with remarking, that however some persons may choose to confound with slavery, a plan, the main object of which was the extinction of slavery (a confusion of ideas, however, which was hardly to be expected in one bearing the title of Judge), there is probably no lover of freedom, nor friend of the human kind, who would not rejoice to witness its adoption in our West-India Islands, and

who would not consider it as laying the foundation there of rational liberty, civilization, and happiness. Can that system, however, which we should hail in the West Indies with exultation, as being indeed a redemption from the complicated miseries of our colonial bondage, deserve to be stigmatized as cruelty, injustice, and hypocrisy, when applied to the Slaves of African chieftains? Dr. Thorpe tells us, that the Slaves of White men are better taken care of than the Slaves of Black men (p. 21.) He would not, then, perhaps deny, that the condition of the latter, whom he describes as treated with "severity by the Black chiefs," and as "often in danger of starvation," would be benefited by being redeemed from such a slavery, and placed under the protection of British law, administered in a free colony by an upright judge, even although they should have to work as apprentices or indentured servants for a limited time, in order to furnish the means of their own redemption.

On another private letter of mine, dated the 26th Feb. 1807, Dr. Thorpe (p. 38.) endeavours to ground a charge of ambition and rapacity. The best reply to this charge, and I may boldly affirm a complete reply, is to lay before your Royal Highness the whole of the letter

from which Dr. Thorpe has chosen to extract three or four lines. Your Royal Highness will find it annexed*:

By combining the extract from this letter with another extract from a letter written by Mr. Henry Thornton, Dr. Thorpe labours to give to our designs, with respect to Africa, that character of ambition and rapacity which he wishes to impress on them. I therefore subjoin the whole of the paragraph of Mr. Thornton's letter, from which he has quoted a part †. Those who had the happiness to know the unimpeachable integrity of that distinguished and lamented character, and who knew also the largeness and liberality of his views, and the strength of his understanding, will easily appreciate the credit due to the insinuations which would wound his posthumous fame.

Your Royal Highness will now be able to judge of the degree of weight which belongs to the charges which Dr. Thorpe has chosen to found on this part of my correspondence. It will not, I am persuaded, be thought necessary that I should formally defend myself from the imputation of desiring to see the affairs of Africa committed to such hands as those of

* Appendix II.

† Appendix III.

"Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c." Whatever criminality may attach to this desire, I must plead guilty to the charge of having entertained it. It is a wish which I am not ashamed of having formed; and which, notwithstanding Dr. Thorpe's pamphlet, nineteenth of the friends of African improvement would rejoice to see realized.

I do not know what idea of base and sordid advantage Dr. Thorpe may attach to the gratuitous performance of the duties which would be involved in such an appointment. I neither saw then, nor do I now, any reward to which such functionaries could look for their various and large sacrifices, their loss of time, their labour, and their thought, and for all their anxieties and responsibilities, unless it were the consciousness of being the ministers of civilization and happiness to millions of their fellow-creatures.

Let me beg your Royal Highness, after having read the whole of the above letters, to pause for a moment, and consider the inferences to be fairly drawn from Dr. Thorpe's having published the particular extracts he has selected, omitting their context.

There remains, however, to be noticed, a third letter of mine, inserted by Dr. Thorpe at

p. 31. It is one which was endorsed *secret* and which in the very first line bears the character of a private and confidential communication. What right either Mr. Thompson or Dr. Thorpe had to give publicity to this letter, I pretend not to explain. I accept it, however, as no mean testimony in my favour, that, possessed as they have been of the mass of my private correspondence with a friend towards whom I had no reserves, this should be the only letter which it would suit their hostile purpose to give *entire* to the public.

The triumphant manner in which this letter has been brought forward, and the labour which has been employed to convert it to an invidious use, proves either that Dr. Thorpe was scantily furnished with even colourable evidence to support his charges, or that he possesses some mode of understanding language peculiar to himself.

A copy of the letter itself is annexed, as it stands in my letter-book*.

Had this letter been published by me, I admit that I should have been greatly to blame in publishing it. I wrote what it contains with the same unreserved confidence with which I should have communicated to the same person, in pri-

* Appendix IV.

vate conversation, my undisguised sentiments of men and things.

Both Lord Castlereagh and Mr. Cooke know the world too well to suppose, that, in such confidential intercourse, their conduct and views, as well as those of public men generally, are not freely canvassed. And to put a case in point, I should not fear to ask either of these gentlemen if he would be willing that publicity should be given to whatever observations they might happen to make to each other, in the unlimited confidence of their private intercourse, (a confidence, however, which cannot be more unlimited and unreserved, than that which subsisted between my lamented friend Mr. Ludlam and myself,) on the character and proceedings of other persons,—of Mr. Wilberforce, for example, or even of their own colleagues in office.

I cannot by any means admit, that considering the relation in which we stood to each other, I did wrong in communicating to Mr. Ludlam, my genuine and undisguised sentiments of the persons with whom he was thenceforward, as Governor of Sierra Leone, to be officially connected. I regret, indeed, that those sentiments should have been published, but having been published without any fault of mine, I do not retract them.—Mr. Cooke has

too manly a mind ever to shrink from avowing his opinions; and he certainly had from the first, informed me, without reserve, that he did not concur in those views of Abolition, and African civilization, to which my friends and myself were attached.—And Lord Castlereagh will not be surprised, if before nine months had passed since he had vigorously opposed the Abolition Act, in the House of Commons*, and long before we had witnessed those efforts of his talents and zeal in that cause which I, for one, contemplate with the most cordial satisfaction, I should not have given him the same credit that I now do for an anxious and wakeful attention to this subject. My letter was written in 1807: it is read in 1815.

Dr. Thorpe, represents it as a conclusive proof of my flagrant disrespect towards his Majesty's Government, that I should have thus expressed myself: "I have no doubt, that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them with respect to Africa,

* It is due to Lord Castlereagh to state, that he opposed the Abolition Bill, not on the principle of the measure, but on the ground (I scarcely need say, in the judgment of abolitionists the mistaken ground) of its being an inexpedient and impracticable mode of attempting to effect the object.

provided we will only save them the trouble of thinking."

I certainly believed that the members of his Majesty's Government were sincere in their wish to benefit Africa; but knowing how much they were engrossed by the great variety of objects to which their attention must of necessity be directed, I cannot think that it was disrespectful to them to suppose that they could not give much time and thought to this new and large question. And it surely was paying them no ill compliment, to take it for granted that they would be inclined to adopt the suggestions of those whom they knew not only to be deeply interested for the welfare of Africa, but to have already devoted much time and thought to the consideration of the best means of its improvement.

Let it be always remembered however, for on this the question wholly turns, that these words were not meant for the public eye. But it is the circumstance alone of their being submitted to the public eye which can give to them even the slightest semblance of disrespect.

But my real meaning in this passage may be best illustrated by facts. This letter gives, somewhat flippantly I admit, the *theory*: but what was the *practice*? This would abundantly appear from the series of letters which I actually did

address to his Majesty's Ministers on the subject of African improvement; but as this would form too bulky a communication, I must content myself with referring your Royal Highness to the annexed specimen of them*.

One of these letters was addressed to Lord Castlereagh, on the 8th May, 1807, about six weeks after the act abolishing the Slave Trade had received the Royal assent. No one, who reads that letter, will accuse me of having been remiss in calling the attention of his Majesty's Government to the general subject of Africa, or of having been sparing of my suggestions.

These letters will sufficiently explain to your Royal Highness what was the nature of my intercourse with his Majesty's Government, and what was the real practical meaning of the paragraph which has excited so much animadversion. The perusal of them will serve also to ascertain whether my own personal advantage was the object I had in view. And were it not improper to call their attention for a moment to my personal concerns, I would boldly appeal to those ministers whom I had the honour to address, for the disinterestedness of my suggestions. The fact is, my residence in Africa had

* Appendix V. VI. VII. VIII.

given me the means of obtaining much local information; and therefore, without conceiving that I should thereby subject myself to the imputation of presumption, much less of mercenary views, I thought and wrote, always, I can say, gratuitously, on African subjects, with a view both to save the time and trouble of his Majesty's Ministers, and to serve Africa. How far what I have done is entitled to praise or censure, your Royal Highness is now, in some degree, enabled to decide.

But still Dr. Thorpe may choose to affirm, that his charge of fraud or dissimulation is fairly made out by this letter.—What! if I put a friend on his guard against committing himself incautiously in his correspondence with a person who I fear may be inimical to his views, am I therefore committing a fraud? Is there any man, acquainted with public life, who is not aware of the very injurious purposes to which an unguarded statement, or an unqualified concession, is applicable in the hands of an acute opponent? Every day's proceedings in Parliament furnish abundant illustration of this fact, and shew how easily even truth, incautiously and partially stated, may be made, by interested or prejudiced parties, to produce “the effect of falsehood.”

But what was it which called for so marked a

caution at this particular juncture? In the first place, the same vessel which carried this obnoxious letter carried out orders to Mr. Ludlam to transfer the Colony to Government, and to correspond in future with the Colonial Department. It did seem to me, therefore, important that I should hint to him the necessity, if he would not injure the cause he had at heart, of being cautious and measured in his communications. Besides this, I had just received from him the letter which is annexed, dated 14th April, 1807 *; and after the perusal of that letter every fair mind will be convinced that it was not merely allowable, but that, in justice to the great interests at stake, it was necessary for me to write to Mr. Ludlam as I did. This letter I may now produce, because, while no harm can now be done by it, it will explain the motives under the influence of which my reply was written. Will any man, who fairly considers the tendency of many of the hasty, and, as they have happily proved to be, unfounded, though very able and ingenious speculations, which Mr. Ludlam's letter contains, venture to say, that it would have been desirable that such a letter should, at that time, have been addressed to either a

“secret enemy” or “a lukewarm friend” of the cause? Many of those speculations have been completely falsified by the event; and it was my opinion at the time, that they would be so falsified. At the present moment, therefore, when the discouraging prospects exhibited by Mr. Ludlam have been disproved by experience, the production of his letter can be attended with no injurious consequences. But can it be contended that the publication of such sentiments in the year 1807 would have been equally harmless? They might then have produced effects very foreign from the views of the writer, and which no man would have more deeply lamented than Mr. Ludlam himself. Such a correspondence, though obviously intended to excite the zeal of the friends of Africa, by representing to them the difficulties they would have to encounter, might have been seized by the enemies of the Abolition as a justification of their hostility to that measure, while it might have tended to neutralise its less zealous adherents. Was it, then, unseasonable in me to suggest to Mr. Ludlam not to discourage the exertions of benevolence by such dubious discussions as have now been laid before your Royal Highness; or to hint, that those who did not know the reasoning and speculative turn of my friend’s mind would regard

the cause as "desperate when he seemed to doubt," and that, in such a case, "his formidable testimony might be converted to a very adverse purpose?"

But why should I have urged Mr. Ludlam to be the organ of information, or to suggest measures which I myself was perhaps equally capable of doing?—For several plain and obvious reasons. He held an official situation: I did not. He had resided in Africa for the preceding eight years, which I had not: and besides this, being on the spot, he would be able to furnish the most valid reasons and the newest facts in support of his suggestions. In short, on African subjects, an official communication, written in Africa, was far more likely to command attention, than an extra-official communication written in England.

I have thus explained, I hope to the satisfaction of your Royal Highness, all that is material in the charges which Dr. Thorpe has thought proper to make against my character, because it is all in support of which he adduces a tittle of evidence. It may be proper, nevertheless, briefly to advert to his other charges and insinuations which respect myself personally, however unsupported they may be by the slightest attempt at proof.

1. Dr. Thorpe affirms, that "the trade was

secured to their managing Secretary."—I answer, shortly and distinctly, it was not. I positively affirm, that no step was ever taken by any one individual member of the Board of Directors, either of the Sierra Leone Company or of the African Institution, or by either of these Boards in their collective capacity, or by both jointly, either directly or indirectly, to secure to me the trade of the Colony, or even to increase my share of that trade in any way. When the Sierra Leone Company had ceased to trade to the Colony, I then felt myself fully at liberty to export goods thither. I asked no permission to that effect; I solicited no help; I employed my own capital; and to this day I have never made the smallest effort to interest a single individual in this country, whether connected or not with the Sierra Leone Company, or with the African Institution, or with the Government, in the promotion of my commercial views.

2. Dr. Thorpe affirms also, that I had *nearly a monopoly* of the trade of the Colony.—I utterly deny it. I never have had, nor could I have, a *monopoly*, or any thing which approached to a monopoly, of the trade of Sierra Leone. The three witnesses referred to by Dr. Thorpe, at p. 68 of his pamphlet, namely, Mr. Vanneck, Mr. Hamilton, and Mr. Nicol, whom he represents as

men of respectability and intelligence, were fully examined in the month of January of the present year, in a Committee of the African Institution, of which Mr. Brougham was Chairman; and they all testified, in the most unqualified terms, that nothing of monopoly either existed now, or had ever existed, at Sierra Leone; and that they could not suggest any means by which the commercial system of the Colony could be improved.

I have annexed a list of *seventy-eight* vessels which entered the harbour of Sierra Leone between the month of May 1812, and the month of June 1814; all of which landed goods there, and on board of only *six* of which had any goods of mine been shipped*.

I annex also a statement of *forty-one* vessels which exported produce from the Colony during that time; with only *three* of which I had any concern †.

Dr. Thorpe resided at Sierra Leone during nearly half of the above period, namely, from May 1812, to March 1813; and he must have known, that many ships, with cargoes on board, had entered the harbour and landed goods at Sierra Leone, and had also taken cargoes on board and sailed thence during that time, which

* Appendix X.

† Appendix XI.

did not, either in whole or in part, belong to me. And yet he affirms, that "the trade was secured to their managing Secretary;" (p. 8.) that he has "nearly a monopoly of it;" that he is "the only person that has regular ships in trade from England." (p. 29.)

To conclude; whatever part of the trade of Sierra Leone I enjoy, I am indebted for it simply to myself: and that part I will endeavour to retain, and even to enlarge, notwithstanding the calumnious efforts of Dr. Thorpe to deprive me of it, as long as it shall yield me any profit. My profession is that of a merchant; and I know of no principle which forbids my exercising that profession in Africa, or in any other quarter of the globe, where I can do it with a fair and reasonable prospect of advantage.

3. Whatever be the degree of success I have had in my commerce with Africa, and on that point it will not be expected that I should make any specific declaration, that success was certainly hindered, instead of being promoted, by my holding the situation of Secretary to the African Institution. To your Royal Highness I can confidently appeal for the reluctance with which I originally agreed to fill that office, although Dr. Thorpe would represent me as seeking it from base and sordid motives. Your Royal Highness can also testify how repeatedly

I expressed my anxiety to resign it, and with what eagerness I availed myself of the disposition which I found to exist in our present excellent Secretary to relieve me of the burden. This feeling, as your Royal Highness will do me the justice to believe, proceeded in no degree from any indisposition to devote as much time as I could spare from my private business to the gratuitous service of the Institution; but to the incompatibility which I found to exist, and of which I repeatedly complained, between the urgent claims on my time and attention of my private affairs, on which alone I depended for my own subsistence and that of a large and growing family, and those which were preferred by the increasing concerns of the African Institution. On this ground, but on this ground alone, it was with great reluctance that I continued to hold the situation; and at length I resigned it, with unfeigned satisfaction, into the hands of one who, with no less zeal for its objects, had more leisure and far superior talents for carrying them into effect.

4. To Dr. Thorpe's insinuation (p. 10), that private advantage must have been my motive, in what he calls the profuse expenditure of the Institution, in sending cotton seeds and machines to Sierra Leone, I need hardly reply. From the commencement of the Institution, no account

was paid by it which had not undergone the examination of a Committee, consisting of Mr. William Allen, Mr. Thomas Furley Forster, and Mr. George Harrison. I myself had the honour to propose these names as a Committee of Accounts, under the firm persuasion that their examination of the accounts which came before them would be conducted with scrupulous accuracy. Besides, the articles in question were not furnished by me, but by respectable tradesmen, whose bills were presented by themselves for payment. And it will hardly be believed by the most credulous, considering the comparatively extensive commercial transactions in which I am known to be engaged, and the comparatively large trusts which are reposed in me ; and that all matters of business are necessarily open to the inspection and animadversion of intelligent clerks, and that every thing done for the African Institution is necessarily subjected to the further investigation of such a Committee as I have named : no one, I say, will believe, even if I had had no higher considerations than those of self-interest to restrain me, that I should have endeavoured to turn unfairly to my private advantage, a shipment, amounting in value to less than 400*l.* ; being the whole of what was

ever sent by me for the Institution in any ship of mine, or indeed in any ship whatever.

5. But it is considered by Dr. Thorpe, as an irrefragable proof, both of the prodigality of the Directors, and of my rapacity, that fifty guineas should have been given to me as a premium for importing above ten tons of rice into this country.—This is a specimen of the boldness with which Dr. Thorpe hazards assertions, without troubling himself previously to ascertain their truth or falsehood.

A piece of plate, of the value of fifty guineas, had been promised by the African Institution as a general premium to the first person who should import into this country the largest quantity of white rice, above ten tons. The house of Messrs. Z. Macanlay and Babington having imported, not ten tons, but near 100 tons of that article in one ship, applied for the premium, and, having produced proof of the importation, obtained a vote for it. But it will probably be admitted by Dr. Thorpe himself, that a view to the *honour* of the vote, and not to the pecuniary benefit arising from it, influenced this application, when he is told, that as soon as the vote had passed, (on the very next day), I paid, in the name of my house, the sum of fifty guineas as a donation to the funds of the

Society; so that this piece of plate, in point of fact, has not cost the Society a single sixpence.

But does Dr. Thorpe mean to say, that it is no benefit to Africa to encourage the importation of African rice into this country? In that case, my opinion, and that I doubt not of every considerate man, differs widely from his. And it may perhaps, be some proof that I have not been wholly indifferent to the improvement of Africa in regular industry, that my house, upwards of two years ago, should have instructed its agent at Sierra Leone to induce, if possible, the native Chiefs to enter into contracts for the regular supply of cargoes of rice*.

6. But a further proof of the prodigality of the Directors, and of the selfish and sordid principles on which I have acted, is discovered by Dr. Thorpe in the gift of a piece of plate of the value of 100 guineas.—I agree with Dr. Thorpe in thinking this a very unnecessary expense. I can safely appeal to many of the Directors, that I did all in my power to prevent its being incurred. Your Royal Highness and the Board of Directors, however, were pleased to think that, five years of gratuitous service as Secretary, and some sacrifices I was supposed to have

* Appendix XII.

made to the general object, called for some more lasting mark of approbation than a vote of thanks; and, as is well known, I accepted it at length rather in deference to the kind and overwhelming importunity of your Royal Highness and the Board, than from any sense I had that it was a merited application of your bounty.

7. *Through the influence of the Directors, however, I have had "great freights for my ships."*—Here we have another instance of the boldness of Dr. Thorpe's assertions. The only Director, who ever gave me any thing in the way of freight, was Mr. W. Allen; and the whole amount of the freights received from him and the Institution together, from the day on which it was formed to the present, has amounted to scarcely twenty tons.

8. *I have had the prize-agency of almost every man of war that has gone to the Coast.*—I have had the prize-agency undoubtedly of several ships; but neither for that, nor for the agency of the Governor and Garrisons, had I made the slightest application. I am grateful indeed for this proof of confidence, but by me it was neither expected nor solicited. The officers who made the nomination, can best explain why they made it. This point may be ascertained by applying to the Hon. Capt. Irby, Capt. Scobell, and Col. Maxwell.

9. *I have had also the supply of the navy with provisions.* — My agents have certainly supplied to the ships of war stationed on the coast, at different times, considerable quantities of provisions; but only, I apprehend, because they were to be procured from me on better terms than they could be procured from any other merchant. If this supposition is incorrect, the blame will fall, not on me, but on those gallant and honourable men who commanded his Majesty's ships on that station.

10. *I have had the whole controul of every thing attached to the Government. I arranged the offices, and recommended persons to fill them.*

—At the express solicitation of the Secretary of State, I took much pains and trouble, on the first transfer of the Colony to the Crown, to procure proper persons to fill the different offices in the Colony of Sierra Leone. I did so, very much to my own inconvenience and loss of time; but I did so without the slightest advantage to myself. Of about twelve persons whom I engaged, on the behalf of Government, to go to Sierra Leone at that time, viz. in 1808, only one was in the slightest degree connected with myself. Of the other persons, several, particularly Mr. Grant, Mr. Vanneck, and Mr. Becket, were the intimate friends of Dr. Thorpe. They could doubtless have informed him what

were the sordid motives which influenced my selection ; whether it proceeded from a desire to execute conscientiously the commission entrusted to me by Government, or from a desire to serve some unworthy end of my own.

On this and on every occasion, I have been most prompt to serve Government, in all matters connected with Africa, whatever expense of time or of thought, or whatever sacrifice of convenience, it might occasion. But for such services I never received, nor desired, nor even expected, any remuneration whatever. What I did was freely and gratuitously performed to the best of my ability.—Lord Castlereagh did indeed make me a voluntary offer of the agency of Sierra Leone ; and this offer I should probably have accepted. His Lordship, however, found that the agency had previously been promised to another person ; and, as he will bear me witness, the circumstance never drew from me the slightest expression of disappointment, nor led me to found upon it the slightest claim to further favours.

Since I executed the commission entrusted to me by Lord Castlereagh in 1808, of which I have already spoken, I have not taken any part in recommending to the Government persons to fill offices at Sierra Leone, except on one occasion. Governors Thompson, Columbine, Max-

well, and MacCarthy were all strangers to me; and Dr. Thorpe will probably believe me when I say, that I had no hand in his appointment.

11. *I have provided, however, Dr. Thorpe affirms for myself, my relations, and friends.*—Dr. Thorpe ought to have specified who those relations and friends were.—Among the appointments already mentioned as made on my recommendation was that of Mr. K. Macaulay, whose relationship to me consists in his being a second cousin. But was any undue preference given to him by me on that account? This, I think, will not be said. Or was he not well qualified to discharge the duties of the situation to which he was appointed? Let the following testimony of a witness, whom Dr. Thorpe will allow to be competent, I mean Governor Thompson, decide this point.

Speaking of Mr. K. Macaulay, in a letter of 6th March 1809, addressed to me, he says; he “is in good health, and proceeds well. Among others his duties, he is Adjutant and Paymaster, by virtue of which offices he has a weekly ride to the remains of your house in Leicester Mountain.” Again he says, in a letter of the 20th March, that he has many compliments to make to him, “as being, besides his duty in the office, a most active and useful Militia Ad-

jutant, in which capacity we are all under great obligations to him."

Every succeeding Governor has spoken of him in equally favourable terms ; and Capt. Bones, whom Dr. Thorpe mentions (p. 13) in terms of high commendation, though a perfect stranger to me, yet, from a knowledge of Mr. K. Macaulay's qualifications for the office, appointed him, while he himself filled the situation of Governor, to that of Secretary.---A younger brother of Mr. K. Macaulay chose indeed afterwards to join him at Sierra Leone, but without any appointment, in the hope of finding employment in the Colony ; and his services being wanted, he was employed, at one time, under Dr. Thorpe himself, as an officer of the Court of Vice-Admiralty, but certainly without any solicitation of mine.

Such is the extent of my delinquency in providing for relations and friends*.

* It may be supposed, because there are two other persons, bearing my name, who fill offices under the government of Sierra Leone, that my care, to provide for relations has been more extensive than I have been willing to admit. Those two persons, however, are in no way related to me, except as having been raised, by my care, from the ignorance and barbarism of savage life in which I found them, not only to a capacity of useful and meritorious exertion, but to an acquaintance with the motives and the hopes of Christianity. They are the sons of African Chiefs. And if they

12. *Through my influence I have insinuated myself at every public department*—doubtless, Dr. Thorpe would have it understood, with some corrupt and sordid view.

The falsehood of this charge in all its parts may be easily ascertained. My communications with his Majesty's Government have been almost exclusively on public questions, and whether, in my intercourse with them on such questions, I have acted from corrupt and interested motives, may be safely left to the judgment of every impartial person who may peruse this letter, and the papers annexed to it.

When I say *almost* exclusively, I make this exception merely because I did on one occasion apply to Lord Bathurst on the subject of the colonial duties, a matter in which I had some interest. His Lordship decided the point contrary to my wishes; and in that decision I acquiesced without a single murmur.—To another member of his Majesty's Government I once applied on another point affecting my private

have been led by feelings of grateful affection to add my name to their own, it is a circumstance which is dishonourable neither to them nor to me. One of them has filled the situation of Apothecary to the Colony, certainly a situation of trust and responsibility, with general approbation, for at least seven or eight years; the other has acted as a Writer for a still longer period.

interest; but I never received the slightest reply, nor did I ever renew my application in that or in any other direction.

I cannot deny (indeed I feel too much satisfaction in the circumstance to think of either denying or palliating it) that for the last twenty-three years I have enjoyed a close and intimate friendship—a friendship never interrupted, or even clouded, for a single moment; a friendship of the most unreserved and confidential description—with some of those truly excellent men who have taken the lead in the great cause of African freedom and civilization:—I cherish the memory of Henry Thornton's affectionate attachment with a delightful though melancholy recollection: and I may be allowed to exult in the unabated continuance of that of Mr. Wilberforce, and from a somewhat later period in that of Mr. Stephen and Mr. W. Smith; as far more than compensating any possible injury which my character can sustain from Dr. Thorpe's aspersions.

Neither can I deny—indeed I rejoice to reflect—that during the last ten years of my life I have been brought into frequent and free intercourse, as well with your Royal Highness as with many of the most distinguished noblemen and gentlemen of this realm, of all political parties, who have been pleased to admit

me to a participation, a confidential participation, with them, in their schemes and exertions for the benefit of Africa, and of the sons of Africa in all parts of the world.

But I make my confident appeal to your Royal Highness, and to those distinguished characters;—I make my confident appeal even to those more intimate associates whom I have first named;—whether my intercourse with them, or my influence with them, whatever it may be, has ever, for a moment, been directed to selfish and sordid objects; or whether they can charge me with having made a single effort to turn to my own private advantage their influence with any Government with which they may have been connected.

I am unwilling to dwell longer on this point. It certainly, however, deserves to be noticed as somewhat hard, that when, by my own personal exertions, I had procured the seizure of a slave ship in the river Thames, and her condemnation in the Court of Exchequer (from the proceeds of which seizure his Majesty's Treasury received about 6000*l.*), and when I had voluntarily relinquished my own just share in this seizure, amounting to 2000*l.*, to the Officers of his Majesty's Customs, in the hope that by such a sacrifice I should quicken their vigilance in detecting similar infractions of the Abolition Laws;

when I had also gratuitously served the Institution, to the best of my power, and certainly to the injury of my private business, for five years: — I say, it is somewhat hard that, after all this, I should now be arraigned before the public, by one who affects to be a friend of Africa, on a charge of selfishness and rapacity, because I had been presented by the African Institution with a piece of plate, which cost 107*l.* 12*s.* and because I received a *vote* for another piece of plate, of the value of 50 guineas, which has cost the Institution literally nothing.

13. Much is said by Dr. Thorpe, in various parts of his pamphlet, of the delusion which I have attempted to practise on the friends who have blindly confided in me, and, through them, on the public.

I might appeal, in reply to this charge, to the uniform tenor of a life, not conducted in privacy and retirement, but in the view of numbers to whom I am well known, and who are well qualified to judge both of actions and motives. I might appeal to those great and honourable, those unimpeached and unimpeachable, characters, with whom I have lived for so many years on terms of unreserved and affectionate intercourse.—But I forbear—and as a strong proof that my intercourse with Africa has

been fair and honourable, I will appeal to a witness to whom Dr. Thorpe himself will not object; I mean Governor Thompson.

For some time before this gentleman went to Africa, he was in the habit of occasionally coming to my counting-house in the city, and there receiving such intelligence as I could give him respecting Sierra Leone, as well as Africa in general. I freely opened to him all my sources of information. He had full access to all my books and papers, which he spent hours in examining, sometimes in my presence, sometimes in my absence; and I unreservedly answered all his inquiries respecting the Colony. He did not complain, that my information to him had been delusive. On the contrary, his first dispatch to Lord Castlereagh, from Sierra Leone, dated 27th July, 1808, contains the following passage:—

“I have the honour to report to your Lordship, that I found the appearance of the Colony in many respects more favourable than I had reason to expect. The quantity of stock of all kinds which fill the streets of the Settlement, and the very respectable appearance of the inhabitants, are strong indications of prosperity, and of the increase of domestic industry.”

This extract shews what was the impression

which the general state of the Colony produced on his mind before it had been warped by prejudice or passion, and proves that neither those Directors of the Sierra Leone Company with whom he communicated, nor myself, were in the habit of giving exaggerated representations of the progress of improvement in Sierra Leone; and that notwithstanding the disadvantages under which the Colony had laboured, it was by no means in that desolate state of unattempted culture and civilization of which Dr. Thorpe speaks in such strong terms.

14. At p. 36, Dr. Thorpe scruples not to insinuate, that from the same base and sordid motives, which he has chosen to represent as influencing the whole of my conduct, I was desirous of obstructing an universal abolition of the Slave Trade, and of abolishing it only partially.— What must be the complexion of that man's mind who can bring forward such a charge as this against his bitterest enemy, without having been compelled to it by the strength of evidence that was absolutely irresistible? I will concede to Dr. Thorpe, that such a purpose as he attributes to me would mark the malignity of a demon, rather than any ordinary degree of fraud, dissimulation, and hypocrisy. But if I must reply to so extraordinary an imputation, I would reply by referring confidently

to the uniform tenor of my exertions in this cause ; to the whole of my communications with his Majesty's Government, some of which have been already annexed to this letter ; and more especially to my communications with Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington, since the month of May 1814.—Both Lord Castlereagh and the Duke of Wellington will admit, that, in my communications with them, I betrayed no symptom of lukewarmness or hesitation ; and that I spared no personal labour or exertion which was likely to promote the object of total and universal abolition. And if in France and at Vienna, their zeal and their talents, their powerful arguments, and energetic representations, and persevering efforts, have produced a degree of success which the nation cannot but contemplate with gratitude to them and to the Supreme Giver of all good ; they will not, I am persuaded, refuse to acknowledge, that in the humbler part of supplying facts and materials for the discussion, I was no inactive or inefficient labourer.—It will not, I trust, be regarded as indecorous in me to make this appeal, at a moment when it has become necessary for my vindication from one of the foulest imputations by which the human character can be disgraced.

Here then, Sir, I close my defence; and, painful as it has been to me to obtrude my own personal concerns on the attention of your Royal Highness, I trust this letter may not be without its use, even as it affects the African Institution and the eminent characters who conduct its affairs. If Dr. Thorpe's charges, as they respect myself individually, have been invalidated; if, as I hope, they have been proved to be false and calumnious; then I think it will be difficult to persuade the public, that his charges against the African Institution, or the Sierra Leone Company, or the officers of the Crown at Sierra Leone, have any better foundation.

Had Dr. Thorpe been as well known to the public at large, as he is to the few individuals in this country who have had an opportunity of fairly appreciating his official, and even his private, character, I should not have thought it necessary to write a single line in my own vindication. As it is, the additions to his name may possibly influence those who know him not, to credit his statements. But if I have at all succeeded in impressing my own view of those statements on your Royal Highness, the degree of credit which is really due to them can be no longer a matter of doubt.

As for Dr. Thorpe's attempts to injure the well-earned reputation of Mr. Wilberforce, and, above all, to place his own services to Africa in competition with those of that distinguished philanthropist, they would be too ridiculous to require a single remark, were it not that the mention of them excites feelings of a far more serious kind.—Sir, when I reflect but for a moment, on the miseries which it was the tendency of Dr. Thorpe's publication to bring upon Africa, the recollection of my own personal wrong is lost in the far greater injuries she might have sustained. Even those who are less acquainted than it has been my lot to be with the actual results of Dr. Thorpe's proceedings towards Africa, are here supplied with no inadequate test of the reality of his concern for the welfare of that continent. To have brooded above a year over his calumnies (for the allegation that his work was a hasty effusion, is one of the liberties of speech in which he indulges*); and to have published such a work

* I believe that most of Dr. Thorpe's charges against the Sierra Leone Company or myself, were brought before a Committee of the African Institution, of which Mr. Brougham was chairman, in Dec. 1818, and there disproved; and although the learned judge intimates in his pamphlet, the probability of his being *suddenly* ordered back to Africa, as the reason of its appearing at that particular time, yet

at such a period, indicated any feeling toward Africa, rather than that of good will. It was universally known that one of the most formidable obstacles which the Abolitionists had to encounter in France was, a persuasion that their professions of regard for the wrongs and sufferings of Africa were all fallacious, and that they were in reality actuated by a mercenary desire to promote the interests of our own Colonies, and to prevent the growth and prosperity of those of other countries. Now what could be so likely to confirm this prejudice as to charge, with selfish and mercenary motives, and with a forgetfulness in their treatment of the Africans of all the principles and feelings of justice and humanity, those very persons who had long stood among the foremost of the friends of Africa? Whatever effect might be produced by Dr. Thorpe's charges on *their* character, could not fail to be powerfully operative against the cause itself.

Further; the Spaniards and Portuguese had

when he published it, he well knew that an inquiry into his conduct abroad had commenced, which was not likely to allow of his *speedy* return to the Colony, even though it should not issue, as it has done, in his removal from his official situation. In fact, the period when he finds it necessary to allege, in excuse for his publication, the probability of his *sudden* return, was precisely that in which such an event had become in the highest degree improbable.

resisted our solicitations to abolish the Slave Trade by urging our mercenary spoliations of their commerce; (spoliations in which Dr. Thorpe himself was the chief agent); alleging also as a plea for continuing the traffic, their humane treatment of the Slaves in the Middle Passage, and the craving necessities of their extensive Colonies. Dr. Thorpe endeavours in his pamphlet to strengthen every particular of their case; and the precise period when all these prejudices, both in France and in the Peninsula, were operating against us most injuriously, is that which this warm friend of Africa selected for publishing his work. How urgent soever might be the obligation under which he lay to tear off the mask from the face of those vile hypocrites who had so long deceived the world, yet, after waiting so long, he might have paused a little longer, till he could have executed that duty without injury to Africa, of whose sufferings no probable termination could be assigned, if the opportunity afforded by the assemblage at Vienna of so many powerful advocates of her cause should pass by unimproved. Had Dr. Thorpe felt that regard which he professes for the natives of that continent, his first care would have been for their deliverance;—his second, to expose the falsehood of their pre-

tended friends ; and at the same time to wreak his vengeance on his own enemies. That would have been the order of truth and nature.—Such indeed was the test of true affection, sanctioned by Revelation itself. It was the pretender to maternal affection that wished to gratify herself at the expense of the alleged object of her attachment. The true mother willingly gave up the gratification of her strongest desires, when the well-being of her beloved child required the sacrifice.

Had Dr. Thorpe's solicitude, therefore, for the happiness of Africa been as strong as he declares it to be, he would at least have waited the result of the pending negotiations, before he sent forth his pamphlet into the world.—It is gratifying to me, Sir, to reflect, that the tendency of this my irksome task is precisely the converse of that which I have assigned to Dr. Thorpe's publication ;—that it is not my own interests only I have been defending, but those of my friends, of my country, and of the great cause of which your Royal Highness is so illustrious a protector. It will be some recompence of my labour ; it will even be some consolation to me for having been compelled to detain your Royal Highness so long with these unwelcome discussions, if I may presume to hope,

that in exposing the falsehood of Dr. Thorpe's charges against myself, I have been weakening his authority in general, and have thus been indirectly benefiting the cause of Africa, while I have been pleading my own.

With sentiments of profound respect and
gratitude,

I have the honour to be,

Sir,

Your Royal Highness's

Obliged, obedient, and devoted Servant,

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

Clapham, 6th April, 1815.



POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE the above Letter was sent to press, a friend of the Author pointed out to him a passage in a periodical work, in which he is represented as having received 129,951*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.* and his friend Mr. Henry Thornton as having received 24,474*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* of the public money, on account, as it would seem, of Sierra Leone. The editor of the work affects to derive his information from the finance accounts that are laid before Parliament. But he has most assuredly been misled into giving the public an erroneous statement. No such issues can, by any possibility, appear in the finance accounts of Great Britain, because no such sums were ever received either by Mr. Thornton or myself; and, in point of fact, no such issues appear there. An account was indeed made out from the books of the Sierra Leone Company, of their own expenditure from the 1st of January 1800, to the 1st of January 1808, amounting to the precise sum of 129,951*l.* 11*s.* 11*d.*, and delivered to the Commissioners for auditing the public accounts. And the circumstance of

my having examined and signed this account, has procured me the honour of being misrepresented as having received public money to the specified amount. A part of the money so expended the Sierra Leone Company had indeed received, at different times, from Parliament, amounting in all, to 96,519*l.* 8*s.*;— but the difference, 33,432*l.* 3*s.* 11*d.* was their own contribution, during the above period, to the civil and military expenses of the Colony; independently of the large sums they had expended, in the eight years which preceded 1800, in establishing the Colony; and the large losses they had sustained in consequence of its destruction by the French, and from other causes.

The smaller sum of 24,474*l.* 2*s.* 5*d.* is the precise amount of an account which the Sierra Leone Company rendered to the Treasury, of monies they had actually expended on the behalf of Government, partly, at the express request of the Duke of Portland, in settling the Maroons at Sierra Leone, and partly for the maintenance of the King's troops which formed the garrison of Sierra Leone. But of this sum, the Sierra Leone Company have received only 18,000*l.* The remainder is still unpaid; and must now, I apprehend, be considered as their further contribution to objects strictly national.

An inspection of the "finance accounts,"

which the work in question pretends to quote, will shew the above to be the true state of the case as it respects the amount of the issues.

But what claim had the Company on the Government for the whole, or even for any part of this expenditure?

They had the most undeniable claim. It will not be said that the expense of the King's troops should not be borne by the public.—With respect to the Maroons, there was an express stipulation on the part of Government, that they should not cost the Company one farthing. And, with respect to the Nova Scotians, although there was not the same *express* stipulation, yet there could be no doubt, that, when the Company's funds became inadequate to their due care and protection, Government was bound not to abandon them to the attacks of the natives, or to the greater evils of internal anarchy.

On this point, it may be expedient to produce the testimony delivered before a Committee of the House of Commons, by John King, Esq. Under Secretary of State.

“John King, Esq. Under Secretary of State, stated, that the general expense attending the subsistence of the Maroons (exclusive of their removal), upon a rough calculation, amounted to not less than 10,000*l.* a year. In conse-

quence of the heavy expense thus incurred, and the difficulty in settling them, application was made to the Sierra Leone Company for their removal to Africa, which was complied with. Mr. King was of opinion, that if the Colony of Sierra Leone were to be given up, very great difficulty must necessarily arise in finding a proper place for the Maroons; and even if one were found, which he considered to be a matter of considerable doubt, much expense must be incurred in removing them to it. With reference to the Nova Scotians, they also were removed to Africa at the public expense. They were, moreover, a considerable expense to the public previous to their removal to Sierra Leone; and in the event of the Colony being abandoned, he conceived nearly the same difficulty and expense would occur in disposing of them, as in disposing of the Maroons. He farther conceived, that it would not be consistent with the general views which led to their removal to the coast of Africa, to leave them there without the protection of an European Colony."—Report, &c. 1804, p. 37.

The opinion of the Committee on this branch of the Inquiry, is thus expressed:—

"Your Committee cannot state the charges (14,000*l.* per annum) to which the support of the Colony may in future subject this country, as

objections to the grant now proposed, without at the same time adverting to the obligations of Government towards the Maroons and Nova Scotians, established there under its authority. That the British Government is bound by every consideration of justice and good faith, to continue its protection and support to this numerous description of Colonists, does not admit of doubt; and it appears difficult to calculate the inconvenience and expense which would attend their removal; to which must be added that of affording them such a compensation as might be deemed equitable for the houses and lands they would be compelled to abandon; nor has any situation been suggested to your Committee where they could be maintained with greater facility, and in a manner equally consistent with their former habits and occupations. It may be considered therefore as doubtful, in the peculiar circumstances under which the Colony is placed, whether its evacuation may not lead to expense as great as that with which its support will be attended; and where there appears a necessity in either case of incurring considerable expense, it may be thought reasonable to prefer that system, the foundation of which is already laid, and connected with the pursuit of a distinct and important object."—Ib. pp. 7, 8.

It is by no means clear, therefore, that any thing would have been saved to the public, had the Sierra Leone Company never existed.

It is somewhat remarkable, that those who are so eager to condemn the grants lavished, as they would call it, on the Sierra Leone Company, should entirely overlook the cost to this country of maintaining other establishments; (those, for example, of the African Company on the Gold Coast, which were supported for a century for the exclusive benefit of the Slave Trade, and which now cost the nation about 25,000*l.* annually): or the immense sums which have been occasionally absorbed in some even of the smaller of our West-India Islands. Whether the peculiar acuteness of the Editor's perceptions respecting the Sierra Leone Company, is to be attributed to this, that that Company embraced high moral ends, can only be known to himself; but if he really has looked into the finance accounts of Great Britain, he surely might have discovered objects more worthy of his *virtuous* indignation than either the Sierra Leone Company, or Mr. H. Thornton, or the Author of this Letter.

APPENDIX.



APPENDIX.

I.

MEMOIR, &c.

IT is proposed that the colony of Sierra Leone should be made the medium of communicating civilization to the inhabitants of Africa. While, however, the population of that colony contains so small a proportion of native Africans; and while the general population of Africa continues, as at present, not only to be thinly scattered over a large surface, but to be subjected to all the evils incident to the nature of the governments existing there; the progress of civilization must necessarily be slow and uncertain.

The good effects produced by the commercial intercourse alone of a civilized, with an uncivilized people, have for the most part been small; and in some cases, as in that of the North-American Indians, such intercourse, so far from having been beneficial, has had a directly contrary tendency.

It is necessary, at least to the *rapid* growth of improvement, that men should be brought to live together in considerable bodies; that they should be protected by just laws; and that they should enjoy the means of instruction. It would be vain to look to any of the African states with which we are acquainted for these advantages. It may therefore deserve the mature consideration of the Directors, whether any, and what measures, may be adopted for enlarging the population of Sierra Leone, by the introduction

of native colonists; who would then be placed under the immediate influence of the British Government; who would participate in the security and equal protection which that Government affords its subjects; who would not only enjoy the benefit of example, but might also enjoy the farther benefit of direct and appropriate instruction; and of whom an expectation might reasonably be entertained, that, thus situated, they would speedily acquire habits of industry, as well as a competent knowledge of the arts and manners of civilized life.

Much undoubtedly may, and it is to be hoped will, be done, towards improving Africa, by placing intelligent instructors in the native towns and villages. It must nevertheless be obvious, that the improvement of any given portion of the African population would be much more promptly and effectually promoted (provided proper means were adopted for their improvement), by their being introduced into a society already civilized, than it could be, by stationing among them, in the capacity of teachers, a number of insulated individuals, however able and respectable; at the same time that by the former plan the means of providing such teachers would be greatly increased.

The question, therefore, which it is proposed to consider is this: By what means may the colony of Sierra Leone obtain an accession to its population of any considerable number of native Africans?

It may be supposed that much may be done to effect this object by inducing free natives to hire themselves to the colonists, in the capacity of labourers. But although a considerable number of such persons have usually been employed in Sierra Leone, hardly any of them have been found willing, even while the Slave Trade flourished, to reside there permanently. Their relations have lived in some native village at a distance; and to them, after acquiring a little property by their labour for eight or nine months, they have almost always chosen to return. The free native labourers, therefore, have been a shifting body; and from that circum-

stance it has been found impossible to subject them to regular instruction. Besides, the effects to be produced by instruction are chiefly to be looked for in the young, and not in adults, who alone hire themselves as labourers.

These migratory habits, it is true, might be corrected, if whole families of free persons could be induced to settle within the bounds of the colony. But to effect this, has hitherto proved a work of extreme difficulty. It must be admitted, indeed, that the weak state of the colony, during the first thirteen or fourteen years of its establishment, the difficulties with which it had to contend, and the doubts which were entertained of its permanency, may have had a considerable effect in deterring free people from fixing themselves within it. They may have been afraid of being eventually left to bear the resentments of the native chiefs whom they had forsaken, when the strangers, to whom they had joined themselves, should no longer be able to afford them protection. The impediments which may have arisen from this cause may now be considered as removed. Yet there remain other reasons, which will probably be of sufficient weight to prevent free natives, at least for some time, from taking up their abode permanently within the colony. Their manners are very different from ours, and this difference will doubtless have some force in the decision. But the circumstance which, it is to be apprehended, will chiefly operate in inducing them to prefer their native village, with all its disadvantages, to an English settlement, is the strength of their superstition. An exemplification or two of this point will suffice.

The Africans, those excepted who have become Mohammedans, believe that their main protection against the various evils to which they are liable, is the power of their tutelary Demons; but they seem also to believe, that these Demons are either unable, or unwilling, to exercise their power within the colony. Whenever, therefore, they happen to be taken ill at the colony, they immediately quit it, and repair to their native village, in order to have the

benefit of the charms and incantations by which their Demons are to be propitiated. But those who had abandoned their chief, in order to become the subjects of another power, would probably incur a considerable risk in returning within his jurisdiction.

The belief in witchcraft is also general among the Africans, and most of the evils which befall them are attributed to the malign influence of witches. As witchcraft, however, is not recognized at the colony as a crime, and is therefore sure to escape both detection and punishment, they think that they should incur a tremendous risk by becoming permanently attached to such a settlement.

But though there may be little hope of inducing families of free Africans, at least for some time, to settle within the bounds of the colony, they may nevertheless be induced to send their children thither, in considerable numbers, for education. The more intelligent natives have manifested comparatively little reluctance to the adoption of such a proposal. In the course of time, therefore, great effects might be produced by an extensive plan of this kind, in the way of eradicating their prejudices, assimilating their manners to ours, detaching them from their native superstitions, and giving them a taste for the regularity, security, and comfort of civilized society. This plan, however, would necessarily be attended with very considerable expense, as African parents would not, with their present views, be found willing to contribute to the education, or even to the maintenance, of their children, while at school in the colony. It would also be liable to interruptions, from the interference of parents and friends living at a distance; and it must at least be slow in its progress. It ought, nevertheless, to meet with every possible encouragement.

One mode, which has been suggested of increasing the native population of the colony is, to hold out offers of protection and encouragement to all persons of servile condition who may take refuge there. But it seems to be a

sufficient objection to such a plan, that it would infallibly tend to produce jealousy and dislike in the minds of the African chiefs. It has not been thought right, indeed, in any case, to deliver up individuals who, having taken up their abode in the colony, were claimed merely on the ground of their being slaves; but great care has at the same time been taken to convince the natives, that the Government of the colony was far from holding out a temptation to slaves to desert their masters, beyond what was afforded by the very nature of British law, which forbids the violent constraint of any individual except by legal process.

Some increase of native population may doubtless be expected at the colony, from the confiscation of slave ships, under the Act abolishing the Slave Trade. It may prove considerable, but at the same time it may, and it is to be hoped will, prove very insignificant.

The method by which the native population of Sierra Leone might be most speedily and certainly enlarged (provided it was unobjectionable on other grounds, a point which will be considered hereafter), would be, to permit the colonists, under clear and well-defined regulations, to ransom Africans from a state of slavery, on condition that the persons so ransomed should, for a limited time, serve the persons who redeemed them in the capacity of *indentured servants*. The ransom of an individual would cost from eight to ten pounds. If therefore a period of not more than seven years were fixed, during which the ransomed individuals should remain in the situation of indentured servants, there would be a sufficient return in labour, for the money expended in redeeming them, to induce many of the colonists to avail themselves of this permission.

In Africa, as is well known, there now exist two species of servitude; the one arising from captivity in war, from kidnapping, from debt, or from the commission of certain crimes real or imaginary; the other being a kind of hereditary villeinage.

The abolition of the Slave Trade has undoubtedly removed much of the temptation which formerly existed to those wars, and other nefarious practices, by which that trade was supplied with its victims. And although it would be too much to expect, that wars should now entirely cease; or that the superstitious natives should not still dread the influence of witchcraft, and still persecute those suspected of it; yet it may fairly be presumed, that the number of slaves thus made will now be small. Certainly it ought to be the object of this Institution to discourage, by every means in its power, the continuance of such evils. It would, nevertheless, be difficult to say, that cases might not arise in which the redemption of the persons affected by them might not be a measure both of humanity and justice.

But supposing these sources of slavery no longer to have an existence, the state of what may be called villeinage will still be found to comprize a large proportion of the population of Africa.

The state of African villeinage, when it is compared with the slavery existing in our West-Indian islands, is certainly a very light species of bondage. The slaves in the West Indies are driven to their labour by the terror or impulse of the cart-whip: in Africa, no such compulsory methods are resorted to for extracting labour. In the West Indies, the slave possesses no civil rights whatever: the African grumetta, on the contrary, possesses many valuable privileges. In the West Indies the degradation of the slave to the lowest possible point of depression is visible to every eye: in Africa it is generally impossible to ascertain, without particular inquiry, who are in a free and who are in a servile condition. Various other points of difference might be specified, which raise the condition of the grumetta in Africa, in respect to comfort, infinitely above that of the slave in the West Indies.

Great evils, however, unquestionably exist in Africa; and these, it must also be allowed, affect grumettas in a

greater degree than any other class of the population. In consequence of the prevalence of polygamy, the women are often engrossed by the chiefs and other persons of free condition, while the grumettas are doomed to lead solitary lives. Much of their comfort must also necessarily depend on the disposition of their masters; and the effects of tyranny and oppression will doubtless be experienced in Africa, as in every other quarter of the globe. They will also continue to be subject to the various evils which are ever found to attend a state of barbarism and incivilization. Improvidence, and the consequent occurrence of scarcity; violence, and rapine, and insecurity, will still to a certain degree prevail there. And though these evils, it is to be hoped, will no longer be aggravated by the Slave Trade, yet if we suppose them to exist only in the degree in which they now exist in other barbarous countries—and, considering the habits which have prevailed in Africa, this is no extravagant supposition—then a variety of cases may be expected to arise, in which it would be mercy to the grumetta to extricate him from his present situation, and place him as an indented servant in a British settlement.

In such cases, the redemption of the grumetta, without any view of prospective advantage, would undoubtedly be a generous act: but it would be of little real benefit to him, if he were immediately abandoned by the person who had ransomed him, and were not taught to use his freedom for the benefit of himself and of the society to which he belonged. No hope, however, can be formed, that the charity of individuals would operate very extensively in this way. It is on this account necessary to make it their interest to pursue the method which has been pointed out of ameliorating the condition of the African grumetta, at the same time that their power of injuring him is carefully circumscribed by strict and clear regulations.

These regulations might be of the following kind.

1. That the Government of the colony shall be the guar-

dians of the ransomed individuals, and parties to their indentures.

2. That the longest period during which any person, of fourteen years of age or upwards, should be indentured, shall be seven years. If under fourteen, the term may be lengthened, so as that the indenture shall expire when the persons indentured have attained the age of twenty-one.
3. That one hour, at least, in each day, shall be allotted for the attendance of all indentured servants at school, with a view to their instruction in reading and writing, and in the principles of the Christian Religion; and that they shall attend public worship on the Sundays.
4. That, with the exception of the hour above-mentioned, which is to be employed in school, the hours of labour for indentured servants shall be the same with those which are established for the labouring part of the colonists.
5. That the testimony of indentured servants shall be placed on precisely the same footing with that of the other colonists.
6. That the Magistrates of the colony shall be bound to receive, and shall be empowered to investigate summarily, all complaints preferred by indentured servants against their masters.
7. That masters shall have no power to inflict corporal punishment on their indentured servants; but that, in case of contumacy or neglect of duty, the Magistrate shall have the power of punishing, by imprisonment, according to the nature of the offence.
8. That indentured servants, who shall voluntarily desert their masters' service, may, by course of law, be obliged to serve for a proportionable period after the termination of their indentures.
9. That the date and cost of each person's redemption, and the particulars of his indenture, shall be regu-

larly entered in a public Register, to be kept for that purpose.

10. That indentured servants shall be allowed, at any period of their servitude, to dissolve the contract between them and their masters, on paying a certain sum, proportioned to the length of time which is to run before the expiration of their indentures.
11. That those who shall either have thus shortened the period of their service, or who shall have completed the full term of it, shall be entitled to receive from Government, on favourable terms, a certain portion of land for cultivation on their own account.
12. That indentured servants shall be encouraged to acquire a competent skill in reading and writing English, and their masters be induced to afford them the requisite facilities for that purpose, by a prospect of certain advantages to be suspended on such proficiency.
13. That periodical and personal inspections of all indentured servants shall be made by persons authorized for that purpose, who shall examine whether such servants be properly fed, clothed, and lodged, and whether the regulations be properly observed: who shall hear and investigate all matters of complaint; and who shall make a regular report of their proceedings to Government.
14. That masters guilty of maltreating an indentured servant may be deprived of the future services of such servant, on proof of the fact.
15. That no person, who is afterwards to be indentured, shall be ransomed, unless his own consent has been obtained; and until he shall have been apprized of the nature, the rights, and the duties, of the new situation into which he is to be removed.

These regulations would doubtless require various modifications and limitations, in order to render them practically

beneficial. The object of the present paper is merely to give the Directors a general view of the subject.

Supposing such a plan as has been proposed to be adopted, measures should be taken to produce, as far as may be practicable, an equality of the sexes. It would also naturally become the care of Government, or, if not of Government, of the African Institution, to provide appropriate means of instruction for the persons thus ransomed and brought within the sphere of their influence.

It will now be proper briefly to advert to the advantages which have been expected to flow from the adoption of the proposed plan.

1. *It would tend to the gradual abolition of slavery in Africa.*—Any direct measure for abolishing slavery would naturally alarm the fears of the African chiefs; who would universally regard it as of evil example, and as tending to the overthrow of their institutions. The proposed plan would in fact be availing ourselves of those institutions, for the introduction of a better system. It would, so to speak, be a *constitutional* mode of abolishing slavery.

2. *The civilization of Africa in general, no less than the improvement and happiness of the individuals who should thus become subjects of the British Government, would be greatly promoted.*—To say nothing of the degree in which life might be preserved and population advanced, and general security and comfort increased, in consequence of the superiority of our political institutions, of our medical skill, &c., it is obvious, that if education be a blessing to mankind, then those who should be redeemed and indentured in the way that has been proposed, would be greatly benefited by the change, which, while it improved their condition in other respects, placed them in a situation to enjoy that blessing. The adults might prove indeed, in many instances, to be very unapt scholars; but we might look forward to their children with hope, and might fairly expect that they at least, if not their parents, would form a people as far advanced in civilization as any peasantry in Europe.

Nor would this happy effect be necessarily confined within the limits of the British jurisdiction. The means of communicating some portion of the same light and knowledge to the neighbouring nations of Africa, would be rapidly multiplied. Teachers might be trained, in considerable numbers, who returning, after a few years' absence, to their own country, instructed in letters, in agriculture, and other useful arts; carrying with them also just ideas on many points connected with social improvement; would gradually enlarge the sphere of civilization, until it embraced the whole of the African Continent.

3. It would be wrong to omit, in an enumeration of the advantages which would result both to individuals, and to Africa generally, from the adoption of the present plan, *the wider diffusion of the benign light of Christianity.*—This, though a collateral, would nevertheless be by far its most important effect. On a benefit, however, so obvious and acknowledged, it is needless to enlarge.

4. *Journeys of discovery would be undertaken with greater facility and advantage*, when natives of the countries to be visited, who should have acquired a knowledge of the English language, and of other useful arts, might be procured to accompany the expedition.

5. *The colony of Sierra Leone would obtain a regular supply of labourers*, the want of which has hitherto greatly retarded its progress.—It has frequently happened, that after a considerable space of ground has been cleared and planted by means of hired labourers, some dispute with a native chief has occasioned the sudden departure of all those labourers; and the consequence has been the ruin of the new plantation. This has been a great discouragement to cultivation. It seems hardly necessary to advert to the close connection there is between the regular and uninterrupted progress of agriculture within the colony, and its extension in the neighbouring districts of Africa; and between these effects and the enlargement of our trade with that country; being a point already sufficiently obvious.

6. *The strength of the colony would rapidly increase.*—

This effect, indeed, is not merely conjectural; it is matter of experience. In the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, there are several individuals who have raised themselves into power and consequence, by pursuing a plan similar in many respects to that now suggested. And in such cases slaves, converted into grumettas, have manifested the most unshaken fidelity to the interests of their masters, and have been ready to sacrifice their lives in their service. The present plan, however, would have a great superiority over every preceding example of a similar kind, in this; that, instead of a perpetual and hereditary though mitigated bondage, an apprenticeship for a few years would be substituted, chiefly with a view to the benefit of the apprentice, which would terminate in his introduction to all the blessings of British law and British liberty. When the settlement had thus become powerful, numbers of free people might be induced to flock thither; and a refuge might also, perhaps, be safely offered to all who might be suffering from oppression in neighboring countries.

7. Though the colony of Sierra Leone alone has been adverted to, in the course of this paper, as the place for carrying the present proposal into effect, yet if on examination it were approved, it might be extended to the other British settlements on the coast. Indeed, settlements on such a plan might be indefinitely multiplied.

8. Should the plan succeed, it might have a considerable effect in improving the state of slavery in the West Indies. —But on this part of the subject I will not enter.

It now only remains, to consider the objections which are likely to be made to the proposed plan.

1. “It would occasion a violent outcry, if the same persons who have been instrumental in effecting the abolition of the Slave Trade should sanction a plan which might be confounded with that trade.”

If, however, the two things be radically different, and I will for the present assume that they are; and if the pro-

posed plan, instead of repeating the evils caused by the Slave Trade, tend to an effectual and rapid cure of those evils, a point which I will also assume ; then to be deterred from its adoption by a fear of the odium which prejudice or misrepresentation may labour to attach to it, would hardly be justifiable. If I am right in my assumptions, undoubtedly the difference may be made so palpable as to be evident to all whom it would be of importance to convince.

2. " However the proposition may be disguised," it will probably be further objected, " what is it, in fact, but purchasing human beings, and placing them under constraint for the benefit of the purchaser?"

But may human beings in no case be *purchased*, without a violation of right ? No man, if he could redeem a son or a brother from the hands of Algerine pirates, would hesitate to do so. Nor should we blame another for advancing money to redeem an Algerine captive, on a promise from that captive to repay the debt, as if the transaction were unjust or inhuman. With respect to the constraint under which the persons in question would be placed ; it is found, even in this free country, that such constraint is in many instances unavoidable. It forms a main ingredient in every indenture of apprenticeship. The very Act which abolishes the Slave Trade recognises the propriety of a similar constraint, in the case of those Negroes who, being condemned as prize under that Act, are afterwards to be placed out as apprentices, with a view to their own benefit. One of the regulations suggested in the preceding pages, is, that no person should be ransomed, with a view to his becoming an indentured servant, without his own consent. The transaction, therefore, would take the character of a fair contract for labour, by which the contracting parties would be mutually bound to each other. And by another regulation a power is reserved to the indentured servant of putting an end to this contract, and recovering the entire right to his own labour, by repaying the price which his master originally paid for it, or such proportion of that price as may be equi-

valent for the period of his servitude which is yet unexpired.

3. "But masters," it is alleged, "would be apt to abuse their power."—The same objection, however, applies to the case of apprenticeships in England, as well as of apprenticeships under the Slave Trade Act. The question is, whether it would not be possible, by adopting such regulations as have been proposed, or others which may be suggested, to prevent the abuse of power on the part of masters, or at least to insure its punishment whenever it occurred.

4. But the most formidable objection still remains to be stated. "Would not the proposed plan have the effect of inciting practices similar to those by which the Slave Trade has been upheld? In a country circumstanced as Africa is, is there not reason to fear that, if purchasers can be found, slaves will be made; and that the adoption of the plan, though intended merely to transfer to other hands those who are already in a state of slavery, with a view to their liberation, will have the effect of reducing others to slavery, in order to supply their place, and perhaps again to be sold for indentured servants? So that as far as the African branch of the Slave Trade has proved a source of evil, that evil will be perpetuated by the proposed system."

This objection is, unquestionably, a very formidable one, and, if well-founded, must greatly outweigh all the advantages which have been expected from the measure under consideration. In that case, we should be doing certain and present evil, on a probable speculation of future good. Whether such regulations can be framed as will obviate this danger, I will not pretend to say. None that appear to be adequate have occurred to my own mind. But the subject merits the consideration of the Directors.

Before I conclude, it may be proper to explain the reasons which have induced me, while so strong a doubt exists in my own mind respecting the measure in question, to bring it before the Directors. My reasons were these:

Many warm friends of African civilization, who possess extensive local knowledge, have been strongly impressed with an idea of the benefit which would result both to Africa and great Britain, from pursuing the line of policy which has been suggested ; and there is a great probability that that line of policy will be recommended by them to Government. I was anxious, therefore, that the matter should be fully considered beforehand by the Directors, and that the arguments on both sides should be placed fairly before them. I am aware, indeed, that it would not be within the province of the Institution, either to hold indentured servants themselves, or to authorise others to hold them, or to frame or carry into effect regulations respecting them. It nevertheless seemed important that the Directors should have an opportunity of forming a sound opinion on a proposition which so materially affects the interests of the African race, and on which they may perhaps be called in no long time to express their sentiments.

II.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ., TO T. LUDLAM, ESQ., DATED LONDON, FEB. 26, 1807, AND MARKED " PRIVATE."

My dear Sir,

Every moment of my time has been so fully occupied by the Slave Trade question, which you will feel to be one materially affecting our Colony, and by our Sierra Leone Bill, which is now in its passage through the House of Commons, that I have found it difficult to redeem the pledge which I gave you of writing more fully by the *Andersons*.

On the 23d, the principle of the Abolition Bill was debated in the House of Commons ; when, after a discussion

protracted till four in the morning, it was carried by a majority of 283, to 16. A majority so triumphant, so much beyond all previous hope, leaves no doubt of the final passing of the Bill.

I have already suggested, and the suggestion, I trust, will be immediately adopted, to send out a ship of war to apprise the whole length of coast of the passing of this Bill, the moment it shall have passed; and another, to be stationed for a time at Sierra Leone, to obviate the effects of any exasperation which the measure may occasion. I have likewise suggested, and this suggestion also, I trust, will be carried into effect, the great advantage which must result with a view to the due execution of the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, from erecting a Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone. The Slaves taken under the Act, will be at the disposal of his Majesty, who is to provide suitably for them as free men. It has occurred to us, that with respect to those taken on the coast, the best plan would be, to establish them at Sierra Leone, under some system which should embrace their useful employment in cultivation, and their civilization; some such system as that on which our friend Brunton proposed to establish his school of industry, in the mountains of Sierra Leone.

We are all exceedingly anxious that you should apply your local knowledge, and the powers of your mind, to the object of framing plans which may secure to Africa the benefits of which she is now susceptible, and which may serve to obviate any partial evil effects which may be anticipated from the final stoppage of the Slave Trade. As America and Great Britain unite in carrying this great measure into full effect on the very same day: as France, Spain, and Holland are now precluded from all possibility of occupying the vacant ground which will be left: as Denmark has abolished, and Sweden and Russia never engaged in it, (Portugal being now the only state which can carry it on), a prospect is opened of being able to do much, particularly should the war be greatly prolonged, towards breaking the

slave-trading habits of Africa, and leading the chiefs to some other means of procuring European goods, such as the cultivation of the soil, &c. I am by no means disposed to regard the attainment of this great object as likely to be effected without great efforts, and encountering many difficulties. But the efforts ought to be made, and the difficulties encountered, were it only to atone in some measure to Africa for our long-continued oppressions and cruelty. Considering the immense field which is now opened in that country for the exertions of enlightened benevolence, I cannot but hope, that, even should you quit the government of the colony, you will still continue your care for Africa;—a care which, I trust, the new circumstances in which she will be placed will render much more efficacious than it has hitherto been, and which will find its ample reward in the growing civilization of that continent. At all events, I trust you will see, that, provided your health will admit of your somewhat prolonging your residence in Africa, the present moment is one which it may be in your power to improve in a variety of ways.

What has suggested itself to me as desirable to be done, I will now state in a few words.

1. To appoint a Board which shall confine its attention entirely to Africa, and which shall comprise a few of those individuals, as Mr. Thornton, Mr. Wilberforce, &c., who have interested themselves about Africa.

2. To place under the management of this Board not only Sierra Leone; but Goree, and all the Forts on the Gold Coast.

3. To station at different parts of the continent, from the River Gambia to Angola, intelligent persons, under the name of Consuls; or any other name which may be preferred (perhaps about a dozen), with adequate appointments; whose business it shall be to procure accurate information respecting the neighbourhood and the interior countries, and to embrace every favourable opportunity of improving the British interests in Africa, either by making

treaties with the native powers, or by introducing among them persons who may instruct them in useful arts, and, particularly, who may set them an example of profitable industry. Such a person might do much in opening the eyes of the Africans to their true interests, and pointing out to them the channels into which their industry might be advantageously directed.

4. The colony of Sierra Leone might also be made extremely instrumental in promoting the same objects: for not only might the example of profitable cultivation be there given, both by the present colonists and by European adventurers; but a school of industry might be instituted (as has been already mentioned), in which African youths might be instructed, both in letters and in agriculture, and the arts connected with agriculture, and might go forth thence to different parts of the coast, in order to communicate to others the knowledge they had themselves acquired.

5. Indigo is, at present, one of the most profitable articles of tropical culture. Almost all which is used in Europe is brought from India, of course at a much larger expense than that at which it might be brought from Africa. This is an article, therefore, to which the attention both of our colonists and the natives might be turned. It is easy both of culture and manufacture.

6. With the culture of cotton, the natives are already to a certain degree acquainted: what would be wanted here, would be to introduce among them, gradually, a better kind of cotton, and to instruct them in the modes of cleaning it which are in use in other parts of the world.

7. Of coffee I need say nothing, because attention has been already drawn to that article, both within and without the colony.

Many other articles might be mentioned, which in the course of time may fairly become objects of culture. I have only mentioned those to the production of which labour might almost immediately be advantageously applied.

8. The rearing of bees might be an object deserving attention, with a view to the wax.

9. It seems highly important that a ready market should be furnished to the Africans for the rice they may raise; and yet I fear that the red rice will never find a sale out of Africa. Would it not be possible to induce the natives to cultivate exclusively the white rice, for which, if properly cleaned, it might be possible to obtain a market in the West Indies, or even in England?

10. The manufacture of salt for supplying the interior might furnish employment for many persons on the coast, and would prove a valuable article of commerce.

11. I say nothing here of the means which may be adopted for conveying the knowledge of letters and the light of Christian truth to different parts of the coast. That, indeed, is a large and important branch of the subject, and one which it will be impossible to carry very suddenly into effect.

I have confined myself to the enumeration of those means which may be suggested to the native chiefs, and which self-interest may make them willing to adopt, for obviating the inconvenience which may arise from the Abolition of the Slave Trade, and for exciting that spirit of industry among them which is the best ground-work of civilization.

I have thus put down, in a hurried way, what has occurred to me as necessary to be thought of at the present moment. I have said all that has occurred to me, not from any idea that the same things, in as far as they merit consideration, have not occurred to you, but from a wish to put you in possession of what has been passing in my own mind. I have put my thoughts down, not as things which are immediately reducible into act, but as subjects for mature deliberation both here and in Africa.

I ever am, my dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,

(Signed)

ZACHARY MACAULAY.

III.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM HENRY THORNTON, ESQ. TO GOVERNOR LUDLAM, OR THE ACTING GOVERNOR, SIERRA LEONE, DATED FEBRUARY 7, 1807.

WE have now to announce to you the important event of a division in the House of Lords, which may be considered as indubitably shewing that the Slave Trade is on the point of being abolished.

On Monday next Lord Temple is to move, in the House of Commons, for leave to bring in a Bill to transfer the civil and military authority of the Colony of Sierra Leone into the hands of Government.

We now approach, therefore, a new era, in respect to African affairs; and the magnitude of the subject is such, that I am fearful of saying any thing very specific antecedently to a general consultation, which I am desirous of having, with those who most interest themselves in the welfare of the African continent.

The more I think on the measure of transferring our settlement into the hands of Government, the more am I persuaded that, especially under the auspices of the present Secretary of State (Mr. Windham), there will be danger of a degree of inattention which may lead to material error in the management; not to mention other circumstances which may aggravate the evil, such as general coolness, or even prejudice, in respect to the African cause, and a desire of providing for persons whom there is no opportunity of serving in this country. I feel, therefore, a strong desire to see some measures instituted which may contribute to place in the hands of zealous and proper persons

the general direction of the British concerns in Africa; and we shall, of course, be glad to receive from you all possible light on every part of that extensive and now most interesting subject.

We are much obliged to you for the fulness of the details in some of your last communications; and I now trust that you and we shall not repent, at the close of our lives, of the sacrifices (very different, indeed, both in kind and degree) which we have respectively made with a view to the interests of the Black part of our species.

IV.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. TO THOMAS LUDLAM, ESQ. DATED LONDON, NOVEMBER 4, 1807, AND ENDORSED SECRET.

My dear Sir,

A WORD in private respecting the African Institution. I cannot help regarding it as an important engine. We have many zealous friends in it, high in rank and influence, who, I am persuaded, are anxious to do what can be done both for the colony and for Africa. Mr. Peroeval and Mr. Canning are with us decidedly. Lord Castlereagh, with whom our business more immediately lies, is good-humoured and complying; but his secretary, Mr. Cooke, is, I fear, hostile to the whole thing, and may be disposed to seize any circumstance which will put it in his power to do us mischief. You will see how very important it is to be aware of this in your communications with Government. Indeed, in all the *ostensible* letters you write, whether to Lord Castlereagh, the African Institution, or myself, it will be right to consider the *effect* of what you say on lukewarm friends, and in the

hands of secret enemies, for such will unavoidably mix with us. In such hands there are truths which will be made to produce all the effect of falsehood; and, instead of being used, as they ought to be, as a spur, will be employed as checks to all exertion. I cannot mean, of course, that you should in any degree varnish your representations. I merely mean, that you should not ~~unnecessarily~~ discourage the exertions of benevolence. People who do not know you, will suppose the case to be desperate where you seem to doubt; and your testimony, if convertible to an adverse purpose, would be formidable. Your own mind will suggest to you the guards, limitations, and exceptions with which what I now say should be received.

I have no doubt that Government will be disposed to adopt almost any plan which we may propose to them, with respect to Africa, provided we will but save them the trouble of thinking. This you will see to be highly important.

I have one remark to make, which you will see to apply to much of what I have written to you by this conveyance. I am writing, not for myself, but for others; and am therefore obliged to propose topics of consideration to you, which but for this circumstance I myself might have deemed superfluous, and might have saved you the trouble of answering. But if I had time, I could give you several reasons why the same truths will do more good coming from you than from me.

I ever am, my dear Sir,

Yours very truly, &c.

V.

ON THE MEANS OF ESTABLISHING A COMMERCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN THE WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA AND THE RIVER NIGER,
ADDRESSED TO LORD HOBART, THEN ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCIPAL SECRETARIES OF STATE.

IN considering the best channel of intercourse between the Western Coast of Africa and the Niger, our attention is naturally drawn, in the first instance, to the larger rivers.

1st. *The Senegal*.—That the Senegal affords a greater facility of water communication with the Niger, than any other river which empties itself into the Atlantic, is evident from a view of the best maps. If the maps may be trusted, the heads of these two rivers are not distant from each other above 80 miles; and from Mr. Parke's Travels we learn that the Kokoro, a branch of the Senegal, approaches within about half that distance of Kaniaba, on the Niger. The possession, however, of Fort St. Louis, by the French, renders the Senegal necessarily inaccessible to English commerce.

2d. *The Gambia*.—The Gambia, though it does not approach so near the Niger as the Senegal does, and is therefore, upon the whole, a less advantageous point of intercourse, yet possesses a superiority in some material respects. It is more easy of access, and it is also navigable by ships of large burden to a greater extent from its entrance. If the information which I received upon the spot be correct, vessels drawing seven or eight feet of water may approach very near to the Falls of Barraconda. But, still, the distance from the falls of Barraconda to Kaniaba, the nearest point on the river Niger, is about 600 English

miles; a length of land carriage very unfavourable to a regular trade.

The Gambia flows through an extensive and fertile region, and affords immense facilities of water carriage in a variety of directions. Its importance, therefore, in a commercial point of view, if at any future period the productions of Africa, or the cultivation of its soil should become an object of general attention, is unquestionable; and as its entrance is completely commanded by the little island on which James's Fort formerly stood, it may deserve the consideration of Government whether that post ought not to be occupied. The possession of it would be desirable, not only in the anticipation, however distant, of the future improvement of Africa; but with a view to the exclusion, at least to the counteraction, of the French interest in the Gambia; a quarter in which, from the vicinity of Goree, it is otherwise likely to become paramount, and in which also an extensive field is opened for the vigorous prosecution of any schemes of colonization which they may be meditating.

The width of the river, I apprehend, renders any intermediate post, for the security of trade, between James's Island and Junkakonda, unnecessary: such posts, however, may be useful for the purpose of extending the British influence; Whether one or more posts could be secured above Junkakonda, at Pisanian, Fatatenda, or Barraconda, is a point on which I am not competent to give an opinion, and which, perhaps, can only be ascertained on the spot.

Whatever may be the final determination of Government with respect to the Gambia, I would venture to recommend; as a measure likely to compensate the trouble and expense attending it, that a confidential and intelligent person should be fixed as high up in the river Gambia as he could securely reside; who should be employed in procuring accurate information respecting the neighbouring and interior countries, and in embracing every favourable opportunity of improving the British interests in that quarter;

either by making purchases of land, or by entering into treaties with the native powers. Such a person ought to be master of the Arabic language, which would give him great ascendancy among the natives. He ought also to acquire, as soon as possible, a knowledge of the Mandingo and Susoo languages. This last might be easily learnt; a grammar and vocabulary, together with some other books, having been already printed in that language, and there being also in this country persons capable of speaking it with facility*.

It appears to me the more important to lose no time in taking measures for the acquisition of an influence in the Gambia, as the gradual extension of Mohammedanism, by means of schools of Arabic literature, in the neighbourhood of that river, is yearly giving consolidation to the power of the native chiefs, while it generates, by the force of superstition, a dislike to the Christian name. In the present state of the nations bordering on the Gambia, a very wide toleration of all religions is to be expected; but when the transit from Paganism to Mohammedanism, which has been gradually progressive for a great length of time, shall have been completed, they are likely to become far more in-

* The Susoo is spoken at no great distance from Sierra Leone, and I had apprehended that it was very limited in its use; but on reading Mr. Parke's Travels, my views of it were entirely changed, and I deemed the cultivation of it an object of the first consequence. The passage in Mr. Parke to which I allude is at the 337th page, where he states that the language of the people of Manna is the same that is spoken all over the extensive and hilly country called Jallonkadoo. The numerals, however, of the Jallonkadoo are literally the same with those of the Susoos; a coincidence which could not have happened unless the languages were also the same.

It is worthy of observation, that the Niger, for a considerable part of its course, runs through this country of Jallonkadoo, the language of which has now been systematized and reduced to writing by the efforts of Mr. Brunton, assisted by some Susoo Boys now educating at the African Academy at Clapham.

tolerant of any diversity of religious creed, and far more jealous of the introduction of strangers, than at present.

3d. *The Rio Grande*.—The next channel of communication which I shall consider, is the Rio Grande. This river has been very little explored. It is known, however, to be navigable as high as Belola, about 72 miles from its entrance, by vessels of about 50 or 60 tons burthen. There are no means of forming a very precise opinion how much farther it may be navigated, though there is considerable ground to suppose that boats, drawing not more than two or three feet water, might be conveyed at least sixty or seventy miles above Belola. The Dunso, which Mr. Watt crossed in his way to Teemboo, is supposed, and not without reason, to be a continuation of the Rio Grande. The point at which it intersects his route is about 120 miles from Belola, in a direct line; but there, though it appeared a fine smooth gliding stream, it was not of a sufficient depth to receive any but small boats.

The distance from Belola, the farthest extremity of British navigation in the Rio Grande, to Sankari, the supposed head of the Niger, is about 450 miles; and if we suppose the Rio Grande navigable for fifty miles farther, the distance will be reduced to 400 miles.

The mouth of this river is in a great degree commanded by the island of Bulama, on which a British settlement was some years ago attempted to be formed. The French had twice begun a settlement upon it before, and upon this circumstance they found a prior claim.

The greatest objection in my mind to an establishment on this island arises from the intricacy of the navigation around it, which renders it dangerous even for small vessels. Sunken rocks, breakers, and sand-banks, are strewn about in great profusion for about sixty miles from it towards the sea; so that the hazard to vessels of a large size, sailing to and from it, is very considerable. The difficulty of the navigation may no doubt be lessened, if not

removed, by a careful survey; but in the mean time it constitutes a very formidable objection to making Bulama the central point of a commercial intercourse between Great Britain and the interior of Africa.

Some of the islands in the neighbourhood of Bulama are occupied by a very ferocious set of people: and the natives inhabiting the southern bank of the Rio Grande are also savage and untractable; though this is by no means the case with those on the northern bank. Such of the natives, however, as would be disposed to disturb the settlement, might be kept in awe by a fort and a small military force.

The island of Bulama is low, and in some places swampy, and is thought to be unhealthy. But should a settlement be formed upon it, the cultivation of the lands will no doubt promote its salubrity. It is a disadvantageous circumstance that the most eligible place for a principal station is on the leeward side of the island; so that the sea breeze, so essential to health in that part of the world, cannot have free access to it until a great part of the woods are cleared. It possesses, however, the advantage of a very fertile soil, and a fine harbour; and it is situated in the vicinity of countries which abound in cattle and provisions.

4th. *The Rio Nunez*.—The Rio Nunez is, perhaps, as desirable a channel of intercourse with the interior as the Rio Grande, if we may suppose the latter not to be navigable many miles above Belola. The Rio Nunez is navigable, by vessels of 250 tons burthen, as high as Kakundy, which lies about 30 or 40 miles of longitude east of Belola. The communication, at least as far as Teemboo, has been already opened in that direction; and as no nation intervenes between the people of Kakundy and the Foulahs, less risk of obstruction is incurred.

5th. *The Rio Pongas*.—The distance from the upper part of the Rio Pongas to Teemboo is not so great, by 40 or 50 miles, as from Kakundy to that place; but the journey is attended with more danger, there being several indepen-

dent tribes of Susoos in the way, who are very apt to plunder the coffes, and seize and reduce to slavery the individuals composing them, whenever a fair opportunity occurs.

6th. *Kissey*.—A similar disadvantage renders the road from Kissey to Teemboo less frequented than that from the Rio Nunez.

Kissey is inhabited by a colony of Mandingoes, who have extended themselves in its neighbourhood, by the institution of schools and the gradual diffusion of the Mohammedan religion, so as to have become the most powerful community in that quarter. These Mandingoes are much more civilized than their neighbours, and strangers would be secure under their protection; but I apprehend that they would not be easily induced to consent to any establishment whereby strangers should obtain the smallest degree of independence.

It seldom happens that the Susoos, who inhabit the space between these Mandingoes and the Foulah country, are not engaged in a dispute with one or other of their neighbours, which renders travelling unsafe; and even if peace should be made, it seldom lasts long: the roads continue to be infested by freebooters, whose excesses soon lead to farther disputes.

The navigation of the Kissey is difficult for large vessels.

7th. *Mesurado*.—The river Mesurado, if we may trust to African maps, is that which approaches the nearest to the Niger, seeming to issue from the opposite side of the same ridge of mountains.

The entrance into this river is rendered very difficult for vessels of more than thirty tons burthen, by a dangerous bar, which crosses its mouth.

The natives assert, that the river is navigable, by canoes, to a great height: nor did any of them, with whom I have conversed, seem to know where it ceased to be navigable. I have not, however, been disposed to give much credit to their representations, or to the accuracy of the maps, with respect to the length of this river. At six or eight miles

from its mouth, which was the farthest point to which my own observation extended, the stream, though deep and gentle, was not more than 100 or 150 yards across; a circumstance which seems to render it improbable that its course should be so long as it is said to be.

Cape Mesurado, which commands the mouth of this river, is a most favourable position for a settlement, being dry, elevated, and commanding.

There is at present, in the river Mesurado, about two miles from its mouth, an English factory; by the aid of which it might be practicable for a flat-bottomed boat, armed with a couple of swivels, and having an awning for the people, to explore the river, in the course of a few days, as far as there is any likelihood of its being navigable.

The direct distance from Cape Mesurado to Sankari, the supposed source of the Niger, is about 300 miles. If the river Mesurado be really navigable by boats to the extent which is commonly reported, it would considerably diminish that distance; but it is to be observed, that there is perhaps no part of Africa less known than that which lies between Cape Mesurado and Sankari.

8. *Sierra Leone*.—The only channel of communication which remains to be particularly considered, is the river Sierra Leone. This river is navigable about fifty miles above the Company's settlement, to a place called Port Logo. The distance from Port-Logo to Teemboo, is about 120 miles; and from Teemboo to Sankari, the supposed source of the Niger, about 250; in all, 370 miles.

There is therefore no reason, on account of their greater proximity to the Niger, for preferring either the Gambia or the Rio Grande as channels of communication, to the Sierra Leone; which is also recommended by other considerations, such as the establishment of a British colony and the erection of a British fort at the entrance of the river, the security of the harbour of Sierra Leone, its many conveniences, the facility with which it may be approached by vessels of the largest size, and the assistance which would

necessarily be derived, from the vicinity of so large an establishment, in the prosecution of schemes of discovery or trade.

Between Port Logo and Teemboo, however, several nations, or rather tribes, intervene, which are very hostile to each other, and maintain a perpetual system of predatory warfare. But the chief impediment arises from the contrariety of interest prevailing among the Europeans in the river Sierra Leone. The large slave factory of Bance Island, which lies between Freetown and Port Logo, would regard with distrust, and probably oppose, any attempts which the Sierra Leone Company might make to open an intercourse with the interior in that quarter;—a consideration which has hitherto deterred the Company's servants from prosecuting their inquiries in that direction, notwithstanding its many recommendations.

This divided state of the British interest is not only unfavourable to the progress of discovery, and the consequent extension of commerce, but it would give the French a great advantage in any efforts which they might make to establish themselves at Sierra Leone. If, however, an effectual remedy could be applied to it, I should have little doubt that Sierra Leone would prove fully as practicable a channel of intercourse with the Niger, as any which has been mentioned, excepting the Senegal.

At whatever point the establishment of intercourse between the Niger and the coast is attempted, great difficulties must be encountered. The intervening space is little known; its inhabitants are apt to view with jealousy the progress of strangers; the climate is unfavourable to European life; and, above all, a state of insecurity, with respect both to person and property, prevails throughout the whole of the Western coast of Africa, which is particularly unfriendly to the establishment of a regular and beneficial traffic.

VI.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. ADDRESSED
TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE VISCOUNT CAS-
TLEREAGH, ONE OF HIS MAJESTY'S PRINCI-
PAL SECRETARIES OF STATE, DATED LONDON,
MAY 8, 1807.

My Lord,

UNDERSTANDING that a ship of war will soon sail for the African coast, and Mr. H. Thornton being occupied with his election, I take the liberty of addressing your Lordship on the general subject of African affairs. I am encouraged to do this by the desire which your Lordship has expressed of obtaining information respecting that country.

The British settlements in Africa form at present a very loose and disjointed whole, subjected to great diversity of management, and pursuing ends which widely differ from each other. Goree is a military government, immediately under the direction of his Majesty. Sierra Leone is at present governed by the Sierra Leone Company, by the authority of a Charter of Justice obtained from the King. Bance Island, a fortified settlement in the same river, is the property of Messrs. J. and A. Anderson of London, who hold it by virtue of an Act of Parliament passed in the year of the reign of cap. who have hitherto used it as a slave factory. The forts on the Gold Coast, seven or eight in number, are in the hands of the African Company, who receive annually from Parliament the sum required for their maintenance, and who continue a company for the sole purpose of managing these forts, which were originally constructed, and have hitherto been supported, for the protection and encouragement of the Slave Trade.

With a view both to the British interests in Africa, and

to the improvement of Africa itself, it appears to deserve consideration whether these establishments, as well as any other which may hereafter be formed in Africa, should not be taken under the immediate government of his Majesty. Otherwise it is not likely that any uniform plan of policy can be pursued with respect to that country, nor any liberal and concurrent efforts made to amend the condition of its inhabitants. It will also in that case naturally become a question, whether the different settlements on the coast of Africa should be independent of each other, and subject only to the direct controul of his Majesty's Government at home; or whether a presidency should be established at one of those settlements, under the general controul and direction of which the others might be placed. Supposing the latter, which seems the better plan to be adopted, I should entertain no doubt, for reasons not now necessary to be specified, that Sierra Leone is the best situation for such a presidency.

But whether the plan of uniting all our African settlements under the government of his Majesty be adopted or not, it appears to me that some steps might be taken at the present moment which would be attended with advantage both to Africa and Great Britain. To these I will now take the liberty of briefly adverting, holding myself ready to furnish your Lordship with more detailed information, should your Lordship require it.

It appears to be, in the first place, desirable, that, for the course of the next year or two, vessels of war should be stationed at different parts of the African coast (viz. at Sierra Leone, Goree, and the Gold Coast), with a view both of giving effect to the provisions of the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, and for other purposes of considerable moment. The Commanders of his Majesty's ships are almost universally regarded with respect and deference by the native chiefs on the coast of Africa. Being recognized as the representatives and accredited agents of his Majesty, they naturally possess a very considerable influence among those chiefs.

If such naval commanders, therefore, as visit the coast of Africa, were directed to convey to the chiefs, with whom they may have an opportunity of communicating, favourable views of the principles which have guided the British Legislature in abolishing the Slave Trade, and to point out to them the various means within their reach of improving the condition of their country, their representations, I have little doubt, would produce a considerable and a very beneficial effect. And this is a remark which applies not only to the Officers of his Majesty's Navy, but to all the servants of Government who reside on the Coast, whether in a civil or military employment. Such persons might be instructed to attend to the following objects.

1. To procure and transmit to this country accurate information respecting the state of Africa, its commercial and agricultural capacities, and the social and civil condition of its inhabitants.

2. To embrace every opportunity of extending and improving the British influence in Africa; by making treaties with the native powers, which, where it should prove practicable, might comprise a recognition of the abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain, and an engagement mutually to discourage the continuance of that Trade; and by obtaining privileges and immunities in favour of British planters or traders who might settle among them.

3. To encourage and patronise every rational scheme for improving the condition of Africa, and particularly to favour the introduction of persons into that country who may be disposed to instruct the natives in useful arts, or who may set them an example of profitable cultivation.

4. To direct the attention of the British Slave Traders who now reside on the coast to the pursuit of agriculture, and of a trade in the natural productions of Africa.—And

5. To take every opportunity of pointing out to the African chiefs the various channels into which the industry of their people may be advantageously directed.

On this last point it will be necessary to be more specific.

The increase of the population and the comfort of the inhabitants, in any country, so obviously depend on the raising a regular supply of provisions of all kinds, such as grain, cattle, pigs, poultry, &c., that it may seem hardly necessary to recommend this object to the African chiefs: and yet I am persuaded that much may be done by such a recommendation. In particular, it appears important to point out to them the advantage which they would derive from cultivating generally the *white* instead of *red rice*, because in that case a vent might easily be obtained for their surplus produce of that article, either in Great Britain or in the West Indies; the former species being a marketable article, while the other, though equally useful as food, would not find a sale out of Africa.

The other articles of exportable produce, the cultivation of which seems to me the best adapted to the present state of Africa, are indigo, cotton, and coffee; and these might be recommended to the attention of the chiefs.

Indigo is one of the most profitable articles of tropical culture. Almost all which is now consumed in Europe is brought from the East Indies. The cultivation and manufacture of it may therefore be introduced with advantage into Africa.

With the cultivation of cotton the natives are already acquainted. What would chiefly be required with respect to this article, would be, to introduce among them the seeds of a better species of cotton than now grows generally in Africa, and to instruct them in expeditious methods of cleaning it.

A very good species of coffee was discovered to grow wild at Sierra Leone, and has since been cultivated there. From this place seeds and plants of that production might be easily conveyed to other parts of the coast.

The rearing of bees, with a view to the wax, and the manufacture of salt (an article much in demand in the interior of Africa), might be pointed out as profitable modes

of industry. Both are now practised on the coast, and would only require to be extended.

In Africa there are also several different kinds of timber proper for the use of the cabinet-maker and the shipwright: these might be imported into this country, and might therefore furnish the means of employing a part of the labour of Africa, were it not that the duties charged on unrated woods, on their importation into this country, are so high as to amount almost to a prohibition. But perhaps such a reduction of these duties might be obtained as would place the unrated woods of Africa on a footing with the rated woods of other countries.

I have already expressed an opinion, that the settlement of Sierra Leone is better calculated than any other for the presidency of the African coast. Its local advantages are great, when compared either with Goree or Cape Coast Castle, without taking into account that Goree may be given up to France at a peace. The existence, also of a colonial establishment at this place, together with the possession of a considerable extent of territory, will afford facilities for promoting the great objects of African civilization which are enjoyed in no other place on the coast, particularly as the circumstances which have hitherto chiefly impeded this object will be removed by the abolition of the Slave Trade, and the transfer of the Colony from the Company to Government.

The example, afforded by the Colony, of a mild but firm and well-ordered government, of rational liberty, and of secure and productive industry, would be of almost incalculable importance; while the influence which its growing strength and respectability, and its growing commercial importance, must give it over all the neighbouring chiefs, might be exerted in composing their differences and inducing them to pursue plans of peaceful industry.

Sierra Leone likewise affords peculiar facilities for the institution of schools, with a view to introduce knowledge and useful arts among the Africans. An agricultural semi-

nary, for the purpose of instructing the natives in the method of cultivating the different articles of tropical produce for which there is a demand in Europe, might in this view be rendered particularly useful.

The establishment of a Court of Vice-Admiralty at Sierra Leone, is another measure which appears worthy of early consideration. The want of a Court possessing maritime jurisdiction on some part of the African coast, has long been felt as a serious evil. The appointment of such a judicature appears now to be doubly requisite ; for, otherwise, all the vessels on or near the coast of Africa, which may be seized under the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade, must be carried to the West Indies for adjudication ;—a course which must be attended with at least a very unnecessary protraction of the confinement on ship-board of the captured slaves. It would also be much easier to dispose of these at Sierra Leone, than it would be in the West Indies. The system of free labour being already established at Sierra Leone, the introduction of any number of Negroes into that colony, whether on the footing of free labourers, or as apprentices for a limited period, could be attended with none of those inconveniences which it is alleged would flow from it in our West-India Islands. A better chance would also be thus afforded for restoring many of the captured Slaves to their former connections ; and many of them, after having enjoyed the benefit of instruction in agriculture and other useful arts at the Colony, might be advantageously employed in disseminating, in other parts of Africa, the knowledge which they had thus acquired.

The forts on the Gold Coast, if properly employed, might be made very important engines of promoting the mutual benefit of Great Britain and Africa. In addition to those which we already possess, it might be advisable to obtain possession of two or three Dutch forts, situated on the same coast, which, I apprehend, would be a work of very little difficulty. If this were effected, we should possess almost the entire controul of that line of coast which ex-

tends from Cape Three Points to the Rio Volta.—It is important here to remark, that at this moment the laws of this district of Africa are administered in a great degree by the Governors of these forts, who ordinarily proceed, in administering them, on the principles, not of British, but of African legislation : that is to say, the guilt of African criminals is tried, not by the received rules of evidence, but by the application of some ordeal, which is regarded, according to the effect which it produces, as decisive of guilt or innocence. Persons thus found guilty being liable to be sold as slaves, and the Governors of the forts being generally, slave traders, it may be presumed that some degree of abuse may have arisen from this source. It is obvious, however, that the power which has been thus employed, and that without being resisted, may be converted into an instrument of great good to Africa; and that the Governors who may now be appointed, being instructed to substitute equitable principles of law, and benevolent maxims of policy, in place of those which have grown up under the former system, may by that change alone operate a very considerable amelioration in the civil condition of the inhabitants of a part of the coast which extends from three to four hundred miles in length.

It may be proper to mention, that there are other parts of the coast, where the interference of his Majesty, at least in the capacity of an authoritative mediator, would be readily admitted; for example, in the country through which the river Sherbro and its numerous branches flow. It is admitted by the chiefs (who are united in a nominal confederacy, under a head, who is called the King of Sherbro), that, in consequence of some services conferred on them by the King of Great Britain, about the beginning of the last century, he was then formally acknowledged as their superior, lord, and that he must still be considered as retaining all the rights which were conferred on him by this acknowledgment. In an attempt, which the Governor of Sierra Leone lately made, to put an end by treaty to a war which had continued

for some years to ravage and depopulate this district, he found himself greatly assisted in his endeavours by a reference to the relation in which they stand to his Majesty. Could he have shewn that he was fully armed with the King's authority, his mediation, he believed, would have been much more effectual: as it was, he prevailed on the contending parties to agree to a truce, which has been observed for the last two years without interruption.

It may be proper to add, that the river Sherbro waters one of the most fertile countries in Africa, where even sugarcane of an excellent quality is seen growing without culture. An island at the mouth of this river, called York Island, is a part of the possessions of the African Company, and may, of course, be considered as belonging in full right to his Majesty.

But, after all that has been said, it cannot be denied, that much of the success of any plan which may be pursued, with a view to benefit Africa, must depend on the degree in which the African Slave Trade may be generally suppressed. At the present moment, the Portuguese are the only nation actually engaged in this trade, who will be at liberty to carry it on after the termination of the current year. It can hardly, perhaps, be expected, that Portugal should relinquish entirely her share in the Slave Trade: might it not, however, be possible to induce that power to confine her share of the Slave Trade to the Eastern Coast, and the Coast of Angola? In fact, the Portuguese Slave Trade is already confined within these limits, with the exception only of two ships, which annually visit the settlement of Bissao, at the mouth of the Rio Grande, and carry off thence a cargo of slaves. If the Portuguese could be induced to abandon this small part of their trade, the African coast, from the 20th degree of north latitude to the 4th or 5th degree of south latitude, would be entirely freed from the Slave Trade, at least during the continuance of the present war. The small number of slaves formerly taken from Bissao, would easily be supplied from Angola; and

this without any aggravation of the trade on that part of the coast, when the extensive British Slave Trade, hitherto carried on there, shall have ceased. To give full effect to any such agreement with the Portuguese Government as has been alluded to, it would be highly desirable to obtain the cession to this country of the settlement of Bissao. To the Portuguese it is at present of very little value, though in the hands of Great Britain it might become an important possession. There is a good fort already erected there. The natives on the island, and in some of the parts adjacent, have been in some degree civilized by their intercourse with the Portuguese, and are very willing to labour for hire in the cultivation of the soil. The cluster of islands in its neighbourhood are almost all fertile, and some of them are wholly unoccupied. One of the most desirable of these, Bulama, is already the property of an English Company, called "The Bulama Association." Additional purchases of land might easily be made from the natives. The possession of Bissao would give to this country the command of that fine river the Rio Grande, at the mouth of which it is situated; and would enable us to exert a beneficial influence among the natives, far beyond the bounds of our actual occupancy.

Whether any measures can be taken to prevent the Portuguese, or any other neutral power, from supplying the hostile powers of France, Spain, and Holland with Negroes, is a question which it is not for me to discuss. If cargoes of slaves, destined to increase the colonies and marine of our enemies, could fairly be comprised under the rule of the war 1756, and be made liable in consequence to seizure and condemnation, our cruizers would probably soon put an entire stop to this branch of the trade.

If, besides this, those friendly and neutral nations, who have never had any concern in the Slave Trade,—viz. Russia, Sweden, Austria, Prussia, the Hanse Towns, and Sicily—would take effectual measures to prevent the use of their flags for the purpose of carrying on this trade; a measure

which, before any interests are created in those countries hostile to such a measure, it might not be difficult to effect : —if Denmark would enforce the provisions of the Royal Ordonnance, by which the Slave Trade was to cease in 1804 : —if these different powers, together with America, whose Slave Trade ceases by law on the 1st of January next, would agree to abandon to capture, by British vessels, all ships bearing their flags which might be found engaged in the Slave Trade, the abolition of that trade, at least during the war, would be complete : and it may be hoped, if the war should continue for a few years longer, that the improvement which might take place in that time on the coast of Africa might render it difficult for France and Holland to revive the Slave Trade, even if they were inclined to do so.

VII.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, TO THE RIGHT
HON. LORD MULGRAVE, DATED LONDON,
SEPT. 17, 1807.

My Lord,

SIR Richard Bickerton has done me the honour to request that I would state to your Lordship, in writing, what were the views of the Sierra Leone Company, in the application which they have made to your Lordship that a ship of war might be stationed for a time at the colony of Sierra Leone.

What they had chiefly in view was to provide for the security of the settlement. The last dispatches from the Governor of Sierra Leone express considerable fears lest the slave traders resident on the coast, exasperated by the abolition of the Slave Trade, which they choose to consider as a measure effected chiefly by the instrumentality of the Company, should excite the neighbouring natives to acts

of hostility against the colony. Threats of this kind have been held out by those traders, and, considering the means they possess of influencing the native chiefs, there is certainly some danger lest they should attempt to carry them into execution. But even if they should not proceed this length, much of their hostile intentions with respect to the colony would be effected by the alarms which such threats excite among the colonists, and which tend greatly to retard the progress of cultivation, and of other improvements. In either case, the presence of a ship of war will be of the utmost consequence. If the apprehensions of actual attack should be groundless, it will dissipate those apprehensions. If, on the other hand, they should be well-founded, it will greatly strengthen the means of repelling such an attack, or even entirely prevent its taking place. The colony, indeed, is of itself sufficiently strong to resist any force which the natives are likely to bring against it; but it is highly desirable that they should be deterred from making any hostile attempt; and to this, nothing would more effectually contribute, than the appearance in the river of one of his Majesty's ships, specially sent for the protection of the colony; and if, by such a measure, present danger be prevented, its future recurrence is hardly to be expected. The commander of the ship of war will naturally announce in an official way, that the colony, being transferred from the Sierra Leone Company to the Crown, is now taken under his Majesty's more immediate government and protection. The British Slave Traders, whose machinations with the native powers are regarded as the chief source of danger, when this change shall be made known to them by such an authority, will probably be deterred in future from pursuing any of those unfriendly measures towards the colony which would thenceforward incur the guilt of treason. And the native chiefs also, who well know how to distinguish between the resources of the Sierra Leone Company and those of the British Government, would be far less easily induced to act a hostile part against the settle-

ment. The transfer of the colony is intended to take place in form on the 1st of January next. It is needless to observe, that the presence of one of his Majesty's ships, at that time, will add great weight to the transaction, in the eyes of the colonists, and of the surrounding natives.

With respect to the time during which it may be proper to station a vessel of war at Sierra Leone, it is not easy to give a distinct opinion. This is a point which it might, perhaps, be advisable to leave in some measure to the discretion of the commander, acting in concert with the Governor of the colony. I do not, however, apprehend that it will be necessary that the ship should remain constantly in the river Sierra Leone, during the whole of the time that it may be advisable she should continue on that station. By making occasional excursions in the neighbourhood, the commander may have it in his power to yield protection to the British ships trading on the coast, as well as to enforce the provisions of the Act of last session for abolishing the Slave Trade; he may also have opportunities, by means of the more extended intercourse with the African chiefs which he will thus obtain, of improving in various ways the British interests in Africa. But on this and some other collateral points, I beg leave to refer your Lordship to the accompanying copy of a letter which I had the honour some months ago of addressing to Lord Castlereagh. To save your Lordship's time, I have marked in the margin with red ink, those parts of the letter which have a more immediate reference to the subject of the present communication.

VIII.

LETTER FROM Z. MACAULAY, ESQ. TO EDWARD
COOKE, ESQ. DATED LONDON, APRIL 11, 1808.

Sir,

AGREEABLY to your request, I have now the honour to submit to your consideration a paper of Memoranda on the subject of the instructions to be given to the Government of Sierra Leone. I will now take the liberty of adverting to a few points not touched upon in those Memoranda.

1. In a letter which I had the honour to address to Lord Castlereagh, in May 1807, on the general subject of Africa, I ventured to suggest, that advantage might be derived from obtaining possession of the different forts on the coast belonging to the enemies of Great Britain. This measure still appears to me to be one of great moment, and which it would also be very easy to accomplish. The reduction of the Dutch forts on the Gold Coast, and of the Portuguese fort of Bissao (if that is to be considered as hostile) would require little effort; and even Senegal itself is incapable of making any material resistance.

2. Another point, to which I would take the liberty of adverting, is the expediency of making Sierra Leone a place of strength. Without this, its influence among the natives will be limited and precarious: it will neither be able to repel aggression, nor will it obtain credit for the moderation and forbearance it may exercise; while the sense of insecurity will be a bar to exertion on the part of the colonists. In order to render the colony sufficiently strong, I apprehend that some additions ought still to be made to the fortifications, and that the number of the troops should be increased. To prevent the necessity, however, of sending many European troops thither, it may be desirable

to keep up the volunteer corps of Nova-Scotian and Maroon Blacks, which has been formed at the colony, and to send over a few companies of one of the West-India regiments. These would be useful, not merely as a garrison, and as tending to add to the security of the colony, by varying the description of its force; but also as a recruiting detachment.

3. It appears to be not less necessary to the success of the colony, that the establishment of civil servants should be ample; otherwise the affairs of the colony will fall into disorder, nor will it be possible for the Government to extend their exertions beyond its limits. In this view, therefore, it seems desirable, that a number of respectable young men (ten or fifteen) should be induced to go out in the capacity of writers. These, after having acquired a knowledge of the affairs of the colony, and of the customs and languages of the natives, would be prepared to engage in the different departments which might require their service: an arrangement, the advantage of which is strongly exemplified in the East Indies. The salary to be given to such persons, might be fixed at about, 200*l.* per annum, subject to some increase, after certain terms of service, in cases where they had not already risen to superior situations.

4. I have said nothing in the Memoranda, of the extent and modifications of the power which a Governor possesses, with regard to the suspension and dismissal of servants in cases of improper conduct; nor with regard to the filling up of vacancies, and the employing of such servants as may be requisite. I have also omitted to say any thing of the manner in which the stores, which may be wanted in the colony (such as stationery, gunpowder, and other ordnance stores, building materials, &c.) are to be procured; or in which bills are to be drawn, for the payment of salaries and other current expenses; or of the nature of the vouchers which will be required. All these points, I presume, will be regulated by the established rules of his Majesty's service.

5. Should the institution of the Prize Court, which it is

proposed to erect at Sierra Leone, be delayed, it may, nevertheless, be expedient to transmit to the Governor copies of the Orders in Council lately issued on the subject of the seizures which may be made under the Act for abolishing the Slave Trade.

6. I have already stated, that Mr. Dawes, who has been appointed one of the Commission of Inquiry, is ready to proceed to Sierra Leone, with Mr. Thompson, and to occupy himself there in pursuits connected with the object of his mission, until the arrival of the other Commissioner, and of the frigate which is to be appropriated to that service.

**MEMORANDA ENCLOSED IN THE PRECEDING
LETTER TO E. COOKE, ESQ.**

1. Mr. Thompson to be directed to proceed to Sierra Leone in the ship of war which is about to sail thither, and to succeed Mr. Ludlam in the government of the Colony on the 1st of October, 1808, or sooner, should Mr. Ludlam before that time vacate his situation. Mr. Thompson, in the interim, to fill the situation of first in Council.

2. The Governor and Council to enjoy and exercise, until further orders, the same legislative and judicial functions with which the Sierra Leone Company's Governor and Council were invested by his Majesty's Charter of Justice; their proceedings being of course subject to the approbation of his Majesty instead of that of the Court of Directors.

3. The Governor to be further invested with the various civil and military powers usually conferred on the Governors of other British Colonies.

4. To direct that all the ordinances and regulations which may be adopted by the Government of the Colony, whether they respect its internal administration, its defence from foreign attack, or its relations with the native powers—in short, all their proceedings of a public nature, with the reasons on which such proceedings are founded, and the

correspondence which may be entered into—be regularly recorded; and that copies of the same be transmitted from time to time to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State.

6. To direct that all the engagements made to the present Colonists, on the subject of grants of land, by the Sierra Leone Company, and all the stipulations entered into between the Company and the Native Chiefs, be considered as binding on the present Government.

6. To direct that, agreeably to the provision of the Act of Parliament for transferring the Colony to the Crown, the Governor shall immediately proceed to decide what part of the buildings erected in the Colony by the Sierra Leone Company shall be surrendered, along with the fortifications, to the Crown, and what part shall still continue in the hands of the Company.

N. B. In the discussions which took place preparatory to the transfer, between the Lords' Committee of the Privy Council for Trade and Plantations, and the Court of Directors, it was agreed that the Company should only retain such buildings as had been erected by them for commercial or agricultural purposes.

7. To make it understood that his Majesty's Government is anxious to carry into full effect those views of policy which have led to the Abolition of the Slave Trade; and that it is their wish that the Colony of Sierra Leone should afford to the natives an example of a mild but firm and well-ordered government, and of secure and productive industry; and that the influence which its growing strength, and its growing commercial importance, may give it over the neighbouring chiefs, should be exerted in composing their differences, and inducing them to pursue plans of peaceful industry.

8. In conformity with these general principles, to instruct the Government of Sierra Leone to encourage and patronize every rational scheme of improving the condition of Africa; to favour the introduction of persons into that country who may be disposed to instruct the Natives in

useful arts, or to set them an example of profitable cultivation; to direct the attention of the British Slave Traders, who now reside on the coast, to the pursuit of agriculture, and of a trade in the natural productions of Africa; to take every proper opportunity of pointing out to the African Chiefs the various channels into which the industry of their people may be advantageously directed; to extend and improve as much as possible the British influence in Africa, by making treaties with the native powers, which, where it shall prove practicable, may comprise a recognition of the Abolition of the Slave Trade by Great Britain; and an engagement mutually to discourage the revival of that trade by any other nation, and which may secure privileges and immunities in favour of British traders and planters, who may settle among the natives; to adopt every practicable expedient for opening fresh channels of trade between Africa and Great Britain; to promote all eligible plans for exploring the interior, and particularly to endeavour to open a direct communication between the highest navigable point of the Sierra Leone river and the Foulah country, and also with the Niger; to encourage the acquisition of the native languages by the servants of Government and others in the colony, and to consider a proficiency in these as forming a ground of preference in designating persons to particular situations; and to use their best endeavours to excite industry, to repress immoral practices, and to maintain and encourage religion and virtue, both within the Colony, and as far as their influence may extend among the natives.

9. To require from the Governor and Council a full statement of their views respecting the system of policy which appears to them best suited to the circumstances of the Colony, in regard to the different branches of its internal administration, civil, judicial, and military; in regard to its political relations with the native chiefs; and in regard to the promotion of agriculture, commerce, and civilization, both within the settlement and, by means of the settlement, among the natives.

10. To require more particularly from them an opinion on the following points, viz:--

First. The nature and extent of the establishment requisite for the Colony, with a statement of the salaries which it would be proper to annex to the different offices.

Second. The conditions on which grants of land ought to be made by the Government to individuals.

Third. The best mode of increasing the population of the colony, and of insuring a regular supply of labourers.

Fourth. The additions which it would be proper to make to the fortifications, with an estimate of the expense.

This ought to be accompanied by an account of the present state of the fortifications.

11. To require full information on all subjects connected with the state and progress of the Colony, as well as with the state and condition of Africa in general.

12. To direct that a copy of all the local regulations which are now in force in the Colony, be transmitted to England.

26, Birchin Lane, April 11, 1808.

IX.

LETTER FROM THOMAS LUDLAM, ESQ. TO E. MACAULAY, ESQ. DATED FORT THORNTON, APRIL 14, 1807.

My Dear Sir,

I OFFER a few thoughts on the subject of the Abolition of the Slave Trade, as it respects Africa in general, and our own colony in particular.

In the first place, the Abolition of itself will not prevent the Africans from still remaining a savage and uncivilized people. To abolish the Slave Trade is not to abolish the violent passions which now find vent in that particular direction. Were it to cease, the misery of Africa would arise from other causes; but it does not follow that Africa would be less miserable: she might even be less miserable, and yet be savage and uncivilized.

This will doubtless be acknowledged: and it may be asked why I repeat so obvious a truth. I answer, because the writings of the Abolitionists leave a contrary impression. They speak of the darkness in which we have kept Africa, and of the happiness which she may now look forward to, as if it were an unquestionable fact that Africa would have been civilized had it not been for the Slave Trade: nay, further, that civilization, Christianity, and happiness, are now to be looked forward to as the natural effects of Abolition*. They say not this in direct terms; to do so would sufficiently expose the absurdity; but it is an obvious, and sometimes an unavoidable, conclusion from what they do say.

I mention it therefore on two accounts: *First*, that the friends of Africa may recollect the true nature and effects of Abolition. They must remember, that it does not actually set us forward one step in our course. It removes an artificial barrier which could not otherwise have been forced; but all the natural obstacles to the improvement of a savage people remain as great as ever. *Secondly*, that warm and unthinking people may be cautioned against a disappointment that might lead to unfortunate consequences. The

* Those who are more cautious, speak as if a friendly intercourse with the Africans must naturally take place after the Abolition, and as if civilization would naturally follow from a friendly intercourse. It is much nearer the truth to affirm, that a self-interested intercourse will take place; and that injuries, retaliations, wars, and conquests, will be the natural effects of any intercourse. That civilization will follow conquests, I more readily allow.

example of Carolina shews, that a country may first abolish yet afterwards re-establish the Slave Trade. And the course is easy. Under a lukewarm government, smuggling may be practised to any extent. When unpunished breaches of such a law become notorious, the argument is plain, that much evil, even to the slaves themselves, might be prevented by regulating the trade. The trade cannot be regulated without being legalized. Its warmest enemies at present may by that time become lukewarm, having perceived so little *direct* benefit to arise from the Abolition: disappointment may even lead them to think the Africans incapable of improvement. In such a state of mind they will readily yield to the expediency of letting the *best* practicable be done, rather than exert themselves in vain after the best that could be wished for, and think that humanity itself is on their side when they establish a regulated, in order to supersede a contraband, Slave Trade.

In the next place I would observe, that the administration of every African government must become extremely severe, if not extremely bloody. When so effectual a punishment as slavery is done away, which yet, as it sheds no blood, is readily executed on petty criminals and in doubtful cases, severe punishments and more terrible examples must be introduced. Every ancient institution, the power of every hereditary chief, must now be sustained by blood, instead of slavery. It is true, that through the Slave Trade the punishment of many small crimes has been raised into slavery; but it is no less true, that the punishment of some great ones has been sunk into it. The effect will be similar on the public law by which the intercourse of independent towns and tribes is regulated. Like as in all feudal governments, every African chief is more ready to protect his own retainers, whether right or wrong, than to do justice to others. At present, therefore, an injured chief catches the people of his neighbour, and this compels the aggressor to talk the palaver, as otherwise his people would be sold. When it is no longer worth while to catch them by surprise,

and hold them as a pledge of justice, the injured party must make war ; and kill his neighbour's people for revenge, since he cannot sell them for satisfaction.

I would observe, thirdly, that notwithstanding all that has been said about the taste the Africans have acquired for European commodities, there is little reason to expect they will exert themselves, in the way of regular industry, in order to obtain those commodities. I rather think that they will sink back to their former state, which is still the state of the natives two or three hundred miles inland. They will weave their own cloth, raise their own tobacco, smelt their own iron, and resume their bows and arrows. Be it remembered, that the greatest demand for their rice (the " staple of the country ") is to supply the slaves while kept in factories, or during the Middle Passage. They will scarcely ever be able to exchange rice for European goods ; for it can hardly be supposed that African rice will answer in the English market. Cotton, coffee, and sugar, were they to raise them, would be excluded, as not being produced in British Colonies. Where, then, will be their inducement to industry ? The collection of rude produce is not industry ; and if it were, how contemptible is its quantity, and how easily is the market overstocked with every sort, except ivory. What inducement, then, can they have to regular industry ! Its present self-denial is torment : its future advantages they have no relish for.

Another probable consequence of the Abolition of the Slave Trade is, that, on the return of peace, French influence will predominate throughout the whole coast. Our own people will in such a case be drawn away to foreign colonies, as much as they are now to foreign factories. The immense American possessions of the French and their dependents, the Dutch and Spaniards, will be sufficient, without any very great addition of capital, to take off half as many slaves as Africa has been accustomed to furnish. This estimate cannot be called excessive. At any rate, they would purchase great numbers, and they would be the only

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Another probable consequence of the Abolition of the Slave Trade is, that, on the return of peace, French influence will predominate throughout the whole coast. Our own people will in such a case be drawn away to foreign colonies, as much as they are now to foreign factories. The immense American possessions of the French and their dependents, the Dutch and Spaniards, will be sufficient, without any very great addition of capital, to take off half as many slaves as Africa has been accustomed to furnish. This estimate cannot be called excessive. At any rate, they would purchase great numbers, and they would be the only

purchasers. Every African chief would look up to them, as his sole dependance, for every thing which gratified his passions or supported his power. Those chiefs who are most involved in the Slave Trade are generally the most determined, artful, and active of the whole body. Their affections must go with their interests. Those, therefore, who are capable of being our most formidable enemies in Africa, will be closely leagued with our most inveterate enemies from Europe. The usual system of debts, moreover, will place the chiefs continually in the power of those who trade with them. In fact, the French must possess all those advantages over the English, which we have felt the Slave traders to possess over the colony. As to any hope, that, before the French can re-establish the Slave Trade, the Africans may have formed new habits, and learned to obtain the European commodities which they want by patient industry or a wide-extended inland commerce, it seems to me contrary to all experience of the progress towards civilization in other and more favoured countries.

There will be no question, I presume, that the French will diligently endeavour to extend their influence in Africa by all possible means, and as diligently endeavour to drive us out of it.

I hold it incontestable also, that *in a few years* smuggling will be practised to a vast extent. May it not be questioned, whether opening the ports of South Carolina did really increase the American Slave Trade, or, what is still more to the purpose, the importation of slaves into that state? That it made them cheaper to the purchaser, I have no doubt; but, so far as I have seen, there were as many American Slave traders on this part of the coast before it was made lawful, as afterwards. American ships used to supply the Spanish colonies with slaves in spite of all prohibitions: will not they do the same again when their own ports are closed? How surely does a demand for any commodities produce a supply! In the present instance the demand is for men, women, and children; and can we

doubt that illicit methods will be resorted to for supplying them? The profit, indeed, must be proportioned to the risk. My chief hope is, that our West-India planters will not be able to pay this increased price, while their gains are kept down by the rivalry of more fertile colonies.

The traders on this coast are of many nations; Germans, French, and Americans, as well as English. I should not wonder to see the flags of some nations on these seas which never appeared here before, or which, in fact, have scarcely a flag to shew any where. An Englishman now here, avows his intention of turning French citizen directly, and setting his own countrymen at defiance.

I cannot be much influenced by the question of capital: the hope of high profits will transfer it, in spite of any risk. It is unnecessary to produce instances; the writers against the Slave Trade, themselves, furnish abundance. But, in fact, the Slave Trade requires very little capital. A slave's goods will not cost above ten pounds: ten pounds per head more is reckoned a fair freight: this will shew at once how small a capital is required for the whole supply of our enemies' possessions. I suppose slaves will average from 60*l.* to 80*l.* Will not such a profit draw capital from all quarters? So small are the vessels which the Americans employ, that I suppose any adventurer who can command 1000*l.* has capital enough to have a vessel of his own, and trade for himself. Can 1000*l.* in any other trade be employed so advantageously? I question whether the traders now resident on this part of the coast have not capital enough among themselves to carry on its trade.

Let us now consider its more direct effects on ourselves. I presume that no one, acquainted with the country, will doubt that the Abolition will produce attacks (perhaps many and formidable attacks) upon the colony. I do not pretend to be prophet sufficient to say what nations, or how many, will make war upon us; but that several will, is certain, except those who have lived longest among Africans

are most ignorant of African dispositions *. The desire of revenge, the hope of plunder, the intrigues of disappointed white men, warlike habits, and the want of any other foe worth attacking, are motives which must stimulate them to the attempt. I never heard an argument on the opposite side, except what was implied in the question, "If the colony be destroyed, who will buy their produce?" I answer, First, Ships now come to buy it; and will not come the less because the trade lies more open, and is shared by fewer rivals. Secondly, Some factories will still be left; and others will *pretend* that they are to be always kept up, if it be only for the sake of persuading the natives that they will run no risk of injuring the trade of their country by destroying us. Thirdly, Contingent and distant interests can have little influence among a savage people, when opposed to the thirst of revenge and the hope of present gain.

Secondly. The Abolition will retard the progress of cultivation within the colony; for it will render cultivation more hazardous, and trade more profitable. That cultivation will be more hazardous, needs no proof, if what I have said in the last paragraph be admitted as true. But if we be not actually attacked, many causes will concur to turn the balance in favour of trade. We shall, at least for a long time, be in *fear* of attack: our enemies (both black and white) know well how much the rumours of war harass and disturb us, and therefore they seldom leave us long without such causes of disquietude. The colonists, at least the Nova-Scotians, always averse to cultivation, catch eagerly at every pretence of hazard to excuse their neglect of it. Many years' experience has shewn us how easily our grumettas have been driven away by every alarm; and without

* The European traders profess to believe that they will be cut to pieces, and their factories plundered, as soon as the Natives are sure that the trade is about to cease. Doubtless they are in some danger.

a constant supply of labourers, cultivation cannot succeed: Nearly the whole of the more intelligent and active part of our people have at all times shewn a decided preference to trade; and, of late, colonial trade has become more successful. All these things will increase the bias in favour of commerce. But the proper trade of the coast will also become more advantageous. The rivalry of the slave-traders, in purchasing produce, is much more than a common rivalry. The vessels, and factories, and agents, which are necessary to buy slaves, can purchase produce without any additional expense—but it would lead me far from my present subject, were I to enumerate the causes, both general and local, which give the slave-traders a decided superiority over us. The little produce which has lately been collected, is obtained chiefly in consequence of our people pushing into new rivers, or, as I may say, opening new sources of trade: hither the slave-traders follow them, and ultimately endeavour to exclude them*.

When the Slave Trade has ceased, we shall have an equal chance with others; and, undoubtedly, in proportion as our trade succeeds, so it will increase. Some of our traders are not like the main body of the people: they do not sit down and rest when once they are well off, but rather are stimulated by being well off to aim at being better. Their industry and capital, be it little or much, will naturally be employed in that way which is at once best known, easiest, and most profitable. I deny not, that trade will be hazardous, as well as cultivation; but were it much more hazardous, high profits would turn the scale. The unpleasantness and difficulties of a trade among savages, the dangers of a new colony, together with the irregularity of its commerce till

* An intelligent slave-trader told me, that no one had ventured into Boon for many years, till John Kizell, in spite of the war which raged there, *opened the river*, as the African phrase is. It is now full of traders: and Kizell already complains, with great reason, of their conduct towards him.—See his Letters in the *Sherbro Correspondence*.

the supply has settled to its proper level, render the profits of trade necessarily high. The products of cultivation meet in a foreign market with similar products raised in peace and under circumstances every way favourable: both bear the same price: toil and danger can obtain no higher profits than are afforded to peace and security. Where, then, is their compensation? We have none to offer: and the consequences are obvious. In the long run, doubtless, all this may prove of advantage. I have seen enough already, to make me believe we shall form no exception to the remark that the gains of trade have a natural tendency to become an agricultural capital. But we cannot cultivate yet. The Abolition opens to us an extensive and advantageous field, but it closes up that in which we were expected to labour.

It follows, I think, that the Abolition will be of little benefit to Africa, unless plans for its improvement and civilization be vigorously acted upon: now, therefore, more than ever, the colony should be liberally supported, or entirely given up. If, on the one hand, its objects are important, they are more likely than ever to be obtained: if on the other, expense and hazard are serious objections, both must be increased. At this time, above every other, I trust Government will not halt between two opinions.

The true question is, whether it be an object of national importance (not merely to establish new sugar and coffee plantations, though this be a part of the design, but) to extend British commerce and influence in this quarter of the Globe? If it be, its price must be paid. Nor will it cost money alone: a very material part of that price will be the zealous and active superintendence which will be required at home.

If this place be alternately pampered and neglected, according to the fluctuating politics of different administrations;—if unprincipled men be sent out to make a fortune, partly by oppressing the people, partly by fleecing the public;—if we be allowed to remain so weak, and the influence

of the Government so low, as occasionally to revive the hopes of our foreign and domestic enemies; it is evident that the money and lives that have been, and may hereafter be, spent upon the Colony, will be wasted in vain.

X.

LIST OF VESSELS WHICH IMPORTED GOODS
INTO THE COLONY OF SIERRA LEONE, FROM
MAY 1812 TO JUNE 1814; TAKEN FROM THE
CUSTOM-HOUSE RETURNS.

Sloop Mary Anne	Brig Christopher
Schooner Betty	Schooner Roebuck
Schooner Jenny	Brig Kitty
Sloop Young Frederick	Schooner N. S. de los Angeles
Schooner Quiz	Ship Thomas
Brig John Anderson	Ship Fortune
<i>Brig Prospect</i>	Schooner Esther
Brig Only Son	Sloop William Pitt
<i>Brig Emma</i>	Brig Freetown
<i>Ship Merced</i>	<i>Brig Minerva</i>
Sloop Young Frederick	Schooner Princess Charlotte
Brig Flora	<i>Brig David</i>
Brig Andalusia	Brig Kitty
Schooner Alder	Sloop William Pitt
Brig Fly	Brig Leonidas
Ship Herald	Brig Roebuck
Sloop Constitution	Schooner Elizabeth
Brig Carlotta	<i>Ship Sibella</i>
Schooner Rose in June	Brig Neptune
Schooner George	Sloop Young Frederick
Brig North Star	Ship Fortune
Ship Molly	Brig Catherine

Sloop Young Frederick	Brig San Michael Triumphante
Ship Esmiralda	Schooner Centinella
Schooner Flor de Porto	Brig San Carlos
Brig Dezangano	Ship Esperanza
Brig Prazeres	Schooner Sagunta
Brig Destino	Schooner Laura Ann
Brig Lindeza	Schooner Tereza
Brig San Juan	Schooner Marquis de Somo-
Brig Americano	ruellos
Ship Andorinha	Ship N. S. da Victoria
Brig Triumfo de Onias	Schooner Delores
Schooner Dolphin	Brig Disforço
Brig Carlota	Brig Providentia
Brig Horizontè	Schooner Bon Jesu
Brig Fleur D'Amerique	Brig Urania
Brig Rambler	Sloop San Juan
Sloop San Juan	Brig Minhao de Lisboa.
Brig San Jose Triumfo	

N. B. The *cargoes* of the six vessels printed in Italics, belonged, either in whole or in part, to Messrs. Z. Macaulay and Babington. Only two of the *vessels* belonged to them.

XI.

LIST OF VESSELS WHICH EXPORTED PRODUCE
FROM SIERRA LEONE, FROM JULY 30, 1812,
TO JUNE 15, 1814; TAKEN FROM THE CUS-
TOM-HOUSE RETURNS.

<i>Ship Merced</i>	Sloop Rambler
Brig Prospect	Schooner Fame
Brig Triumphante	Schooner George
Flora Transport	<i>Ship Sibella</i>
Sloop Young Frederick	Brig Neptune
Brig Fly	Schooner Elizabeth
Brig Carlota	Sloop Young Frederick
Brig North Star	Brig Manhão
Schooner Rose	Ship Fortune
Ship Molly	Brig Catherine
Schooner Roebuck	Schooner Roebuck
Brig Three Friends	Schooner Hawke
Sloop Neustra Senora	Schooner Sophia
Ship Fortune	Sloop Young Frederick
Ship Thomas	Ship Esmeralda
Schooner Esther	Brig Doris
Brig Rambler	Brig Comus
Brig Freetown	Brig John
<i>Brig Minerva</i>	Centinella
Brig Christopher	Brig Kitty.
Brig Leonidas	

N. B. Of these vessels or their cargoes Messrs Z. Macaulay
and Babington had no concern in any but three, the names
of which are printed in Italics.

XII.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM MESSRS. Z. MAC-
AULAY AND BABINGTON, TO THEIR AGENT
AT SIERRA LEONE, M. MACMILLAN, ESQ.,
DATED LONDON, DEC. 4, 1812.

THE continuance of the war with America renders it unlikely that the price of rice should much fall at present. Would it not be possible to contract with persons, both to windward and leeward, to furnish annually a certain quantity at such rates as would suit ordinary times, which might be regularly laid in in the months of January and February, and shipped before a drop of rain began to fall? Or, if you could contract with persons at Sierra Leone to furnish you with certain quantities of rice in casks, at certain prices, the rice being ascertained to be clean and dry, it would answer still better. This plan would give a spur to the industry both of the colonists and the natives: and of course, if the plan should answer, it would not be confined to one cargo, but might be extended to any quantity which the wants of this country, or of the West Indies, might demand. We are persuaded that such a plan, steadily and judiciously pursued, would answer well for us, and would answer still better for Africa. Let us earnestly request you to give it your best attention.

FINIS.









